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TRAVELLERS IN SKIRTS:

WOMEN AND ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TRAVEL WRITING IN CANADA, 1820-1926

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Travellers in Skirts: Women and English-Language Travel Writing in Canada, 1820-1926" submitted by Lisa Natalie LaFramboise in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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A lady an explorer? a traveller in skirts?
The notion's just a trifle too seraphic:
Let them stay and mind the babies, or hem our ragged shirts;
But they mustn't, can't, and shan't be geographic.

Punch, 1893

Dedication

For my extended family, whose support gave me the courage to try: in particular, for Aunt Kathy, who asked the right question at the right time; for Zack, who arrived in time to put it all in perspective; and in memory of my grandmother, Taimi Orvokki Niemi, whose love of travel writing continues to influence my own reading.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the material and ideological conditions producing women's travel writing about Canada, between 1820 and 1926. Women's travel writing has, in the English-language tradition, been subject both to women's limited access to the means of travel and also to the constraints on women writers. My project studies how women's travel writing about journeys through British North America and Canada negotiates contemporary discourses of femininity and travel, in order to create a specifically feminine travel authority at the intersection of discourses of class, race and gender.

The introduction establishes the parameters of this study, outlining the cultural identification of womanhood with domesticity, the home and the private sphere in nineteenth-century British cultures, and the textual tradition that identified Canada as a region of wilderness, or "no place for a woman." The first chapter situates Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) in the tradition of pre-Confederation women's travel writing about Canada, and investigates Jameson's self-characterization as Romantic poet-traveller in the natural landscape. The second chapter investigates the published writings of the Grey Nuns and Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, who were among the earliest travel writers in the North-West, in the years before the railway was constructed. The third and fourth chapters share a concern with the ways in which the spread of transportation infrastructure both facilitated and shaped women's travel and travel writing: the third chapter investigates travel narratives by Ellen Elizabeth Spragge and Lady Agnes Macdonald, who

travelled on the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886; the fourth chapter treats the various texts produced by Elizabeth R. Taylor, Emma Shaw Colcleugh, Agnes Deans Cameron, Miriam Green Ellis, and Lady Clara Vyvyan, who all travelled north on the Hudson's Bay Company's Mackenzie River supply steamers, between 1890 and 1926. The final chapter focusses on the evolution, from field notes to published text, of Mina Hubbard's account of her 1905 exploration of Labrador. The conclusion draws these different chapters together by connecting the ways in which women's representations of indigenous peoples serve to authorize the white woman traveller.

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INTRODUCTION

"Ladies ain't meant fer explorin'." (Duncan 49)

The epigraph to this introduction is from *A Social Departure: How Orthodocia and I Went Around the World by Ourselves* (1890) by Canadian writer Sara Jeannette Duncan (1861-1922). When Orthodocia and the narrator propose to climb to the top of a mountain, above the glacier they have come to see in the Selkirk Mountains of western Canada, the women's boy guide responds with the flat assertation that "Ladies ain't meant fer explorin'" (Duncan 49). By placing this statement in the mouth of an ignorant, untravelled child, Duncan satirizes cultural scepticism about women's abilities as travellers; Orthodocia and her companion, after all, travel far beyond any region to which the boy guide in the Selkirks can lead them.

Duncan's book was published two years before the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) finally decided, in 1892, to accept women as members. The RGS revoked their decision at the April 1893 General Meeting, however, expressing the same doubts about the geographical value of women's travels that Duncan's boy guide had expressed three years earlier. Duncan's satirical treatment of cultural scepticism about women as travellers was echoed by *Punch*, which greeted the RGS's controversial decision with a doggerel poem stating that women "mustn't, can't, and shan't be geographic" ("To the Royal Geographical Society"). *Punch*'s poem graphically demonstrates the imaginative opposition that lay between the ideas associated with exploration, travel, and geography, on the one hand, and the domestic ideology which defined a lady's place in terms of duty to family and the home, on the other. As *Punch* and its readers were well aware, women had been travelling—even exploring—throughout the world for over a century. However, the cultural ideal of womanhood identified femininity with the private space of the home in nineteenth-century English-speaking cultures, and thus, whatever individual women might accomplish, as a group women lacked the cultural authority to be considered 'real' travellers by the institutions of the British Empire.

Both Duncan's narrative and the satirical rhyme in *Punch* can be seen as textual interventions in the discourse of gender, interventions which articulate the contradictions in a discourse which positioned women in opposition to mobility, even in the face of several centuries of women's travels. Like Duncan's travellers, in the late nineteenth century many women travelled across the Canadian North-West to the western Cordillera on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR); these journeys were often part of world tours. Other women, much earlier in the century, toured Niagara Falls and the fledgling settlements of Upper Canada as part of the popular Northern Tour, which also included visits to the major cities of the northern United States; a few, like Anna Jameson (1794-1860) in 1838, travelled beyond the settlement frontier to experience the wilderness landscape which generations of fur-trade writers had described. Many women travelled in Canada as emigrants or migrants, or as the wives of government officials, fur traders, missionaries, and soldiers posted in British North America. A few women ventured off the beaten track, travelling to the North

or the West in the years before tourism made wilderness recreation a popular pastime. Regardless of where she travelled, however, when a woman wrote about her travels she found herself faced with the problem of invoking cultural authority as "a traveller in skirts."

This dissertation investigates some of the material and ideological conditions producing women's English-language travel writing about Canada between 1820, when *Views of Society and Manners in America* by Frances Wright (1795-1852) was published, and 1926, when Clara Coltman Rogers (later Lady Clara Vyvyan)[1] (1885-1976) and Gwendolen Dorrien Smith (1883-1969) travelled to Aklavik by Mackenzie River steamer and canoed westward through the mountains into Alaska. Wright's narrative is the earliest first-person travel book describing a woman's travels in British North America; Vyvyan and Dorrien Smith made their journey just before regular air service changed the nature of northern travel. I have chosen these parameters in order to limit my study to narratives describing travel before the airplane and the automobile came into widespread use. While this is a literary study, with a methodological reliance on close textual reading, I situate my literary readings in the context both of the ideological conditions producing gender, and also of the material conditions that governed women's access to the means of travel and the means of publication in the nineteenth century.

Following Susan Morgan, "I assume that place matters. . . . [and] that critical concepts derived from considering writings about one area of the world cannot simply be transposed to writings about another area" (3); I have therefore chosen to limit my examination to women's representations of travel in Canada. Although the past decade has seen a marked increase in critical writing about nineteenth-century women travellers, very few critics have paid attention to women's travels in Canada. Shirley Foster, in her survey of nineteenth-century women travellers, includes some discussion of women's visits to Niagara Falls in her chapter on North America, but pays no attention to the many women who wrote about the Canadian West, or to the few who wrote about the Canadian North in the last two decades of the century. Dea Birkett, in *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (1991), is similarly uninterested in women's travels in Canada. Maria Frawley, in *A Wider Range* (1994), treats Victorian women's travels in America as "Declarations of Independence" (160), and reads women's texts in terms of the opportunities that travel in the Republic offered for statements of personal emancipation. Eva-Marie Kröller's *Canadian Travellers in Europe* (1987) considers a variety of published and unpublished writings by Canadian women abroad, but travel in Canada lies beyond the scope of her study. Considerations of women's travel writing, or of travel writing in general, from the perspective of colonial discourse analysis have been more interested in Africa and the Orient than in North America. Sara Mills, in *Discourses of Difference* (1991), elaborates her Foucauldian reading of the specificity of women's travels by focussing on the travels by Alexandra David-Neel in Tibet, Mary Kingsley in West Africa, and Nina Mazuchelli in India. In *Imperial Eyes* (1992), Mary Louise Pratt discusses travel writing in Africa and South America in the context of "transculturation," the reciprocal cultural influences and borrowing that occur between

colonizing and colonized cultures. Billie Melman, in *Women's Orients* (1992), and Lisa Lowe, in *Critical Terrains* (1992), focus on women's inscriptions of Orientalism. Alison Blunt's analysis of *Travel, Gender and Imperialism* (1994) is a case study of Kingsley's work on West Africa.

One reason for the critical neglect of Canadian women's travel literature may be that the famous women travellers of the nineteenth century do not seem to have been very interested in Canada. Isabella Bird described her travels, at the age of twenty-five, in the British North American colonies in *The Englishwoman in America* (1856). When she returned to North America on the journey described in *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (1879), she did not bother to visit Canada; the American West was much more interesting to a traveller whose search for adventure would later lead her to Japan and China. Mary Kingsley explored West Africa, and Gertrude Bell and Amelia Edwards travelled in the Middle East, but the women who wrote about travels in Canada were often not professional writers, and if they did write professionally, they were most often journalists or historians rather than travel writers.[2] The style of their writing is often descriptive and didactic rather than imaginative. Much British women's travel writing about Canada was, as Gordon Moyles and Doug Owram show in *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities* (1988), related to emigration; discussing Britain's conception of Canada as "a country in need of culture and refinement" in the late nineteenth century, Moyles and Owram describe how pressure in Britain to find a social outlet for its 'surplus' female population resulted in a series of travel books by women who investigated the possibilities Canada offered middle-class female emigrants (187-211). Women's writing about Canada is often treated, as Joanna Trollope does in *Britannia's Daughters* (1983), from the perspective of women's experience of emigration and settlement. When Trollope begins to discuss women as travellers, Canada is not even mentioned:

> Through China and Japan, Africa and America, the Middle East and Egypt, the mountains of the Himalayas and the islands of the West Indies, across Europe and India and even the frost-bleached wastes of Siberia moved, in the last forty years of the century, an astonishing band of lady travellers, collecting and noting, painting and drawing, photographing and writing poetry. (145)

Like Foster, Birkett, and Frawley, Trollope subsumes all North American travel into the experiences of women in the United States, and locates most of the "astonishing band of lady travellers" in the more exotic "mountains," "islands," and "frost-bleached wastes" of the eastern hemisphere.

Despite this lack of critical attention, however, there were many women who travelled in Canada "for pleasure and profit," as Emma Shaw Colcleugh (1846-1940) described her Mackenzie River journey to Aklavik in 1894 ("Mrs. Emma" 1). *The Travellers: Canada to 1900* (1989), a bibliography of travel literature compiled by Elizabeth Waterston et al., lists more than forty first-person accounts of travel in Canada published by women before 1900; the total rises to more than sixty with the addition of books published in the first two decades of the twentieth century. And, as Waterston et al. advise their readers, there are also innumerable accounts of Canadian

travel in periodicals, in settlers' memoirs and in unpublished diaries and journals (viii). I shall concern myself in this study with the published narratives, in books and periodical articles, in order to investigate not only the conditions under which women travelled and wrote about their travels, but also, in the cases where information is available, the conditions which determined how women's narratives reached a public readership. I am specifically interested in how these writers represented themselves as travellers who were also women, and in how they constructed textual authority in their writings. The texts I have chosen to discuss are those which describe women's journeys beyond the settlement region, because the imaginative gap between the dominant cultural constructon of 'woman' and the ideas associated with the wilderness or frontier space travelled become particularly visible in these texts. The pattern of travel which develops in this dissertation, then, is somewhat different from that characterizing the narratives of women who, in the words of Agnes Deans Cameron (1863-1912), enter Canada "at the Eastern portal and travel west by the C.P.R. following the line of least resistance till they reach the Pacific. Then they go back to dear old England and tell the world all about Canada" (2). Many travellers visited only the cities and settlement regions of Canada. The women I discuss also ventured into what was, at the time of their journeys, the northern or western frontier, and the narratives they wrote are shaped both by the wilderness conditions on the frontier and also by the literary tradition of the frontier. Thus although this dissertation follows a roughly chronological structure, the patterns I identify in these narratives are not meant to represent the outlines of the full range of texts identified by Waterston et al.[3] Instead, this project seeks to begin the study of women's travel literature in a Canadian context. Much work remains to be done.

Travellers in the nineteenth century knew that Canada was a colonial backwater, although they often also recognized its potential wealth in territory and resources. Jameson's despair at finding herself exiled to a "fourth or fifth rate provincial town, with the pretensions of a capital city" (*Winter Studies* 1: 98) may not have been echoed by every other traveller who visited the British North American colonies in the early Victorian period, but often travellers shared the perspective that they were on the margins—and not particularly exciting margins at that—of the Empire. Aside from issues associated with emigration and settlement, the interest of travel in Canada lay, not in its backward attempts to reproduce colonial versions of British civilization, but in its wilderness landscape. For example, most of the main themes that Moyles and Owram identify as characterizing British interest in Canada in the post-Confederation era were associated with the unsettled regions of the North-West: for sport (i.e. hunting), for wilderness adventure, for settlement, and for the exploitation of resources. Canadians themselves viewed their "frontier nation," Eva-Marie Kröller suggests, "as a playground where the best qualities of British manhood could be pitted against both a hostile climate and political and social anarchy" (Kröller 89). This was not an image of Canada which left much room for conventional constructions of womanhood.

Gender, Travel, and Travel Writing

The women who wrote English-language travel narratives about Canada came from a variety of backgrounds. In the early years, most travellers were English, although American women travellers to Niagara also produced a few published narratives. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, many Canadian women were also writing about travels in their own country. I discuss travellers who were born in England, the United States, and Canada. I do not wish to suggest that a monolithic construction of womanhood existed wherever the English language was spoken. However, Carole Gerson has suggested that in the variety of regions that made up nineteenth-century Canada, "[e]ach English-speaking community undertaking the process of cultural individuation drew on the common heritage from Britain" (*Purer Taste* ix). I suggest that that common heritage inflected the construction of gender throughout Britain and English-speaking North America.

Historians have shown that, in the nineteenth century, the discourse of gender generally positioned women in terms of domesticity, morality, and submission throughout the British Empire and the United States. Barbara Welter, in "The Cult of True Womanhood," identifies "four cardinal virtues—piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity" as the attributes which defined feminine subjectivity in nineteenth-century America (152). In the exercise of these passive virtues, women were to subtly influence their husbands and children (157), and thus ensure the strength and virtue of the nation (152, 172). In their collection of primary documents from late nineteenth-century Canadian women's history, Beth Light and Joy Parr suggest that, despite the demographic, technological and economic changes that transformed Canada in the half-century following Confederation,

> the image of ideal womanhood remained largely unaltered. . . . The ideological sanctification of motherhood as the fount and essence of female nature grew stronger as the need to bear many children decreased. . . . The cult of domesticity and the emphasis upon the homemaker as efficent consumer and modern manager filled the void left by women's lost role in economic production. (5)

Women's influence was thought to promote the progressive moral and cultural development of the nation; for example, Gerson notes in *A Purer Taste* that women's membership in nineteenth-century Canadian literary associations and libraries was promoted in order to encourage a general refinement in public reading taste (5). Kröller describes the ideological connection between appropriate femininity and Canadian nationalism later in the century: "Canadian women travellers were warned against [the] pernicious influence" of the "Emancipated American Female," whose "rejection of her traditional role duplicated her nation's rebellion against the mother country, whereas Canadian women were expected to prove their country's loyalty to the Crown with a demure manner and appropriate respect for their elders" (74-75). In the English context, Mary Poovey similarly describes the figure of the Proper Lady, the nineteenth-century ideal figured as the Angel in the House, who was characterized by self-effacement (*Proper Lady* 4, 23), domesticity (8-9), morality

(10), and chastity (20-22), and who, like the True Woman of nineteenth-century American culture, exercised an indirect influence centred in the home but with far-reaching social effects (29).

What is being described by each of these writers are not the actual lives lived by individual nineteenth-century women, but the dominant elements of a discourse that told women what they were or should be. Thus, although individual women's lives might be inflected by a variety of individual circumstances and opportunities, as well as by class, race, marital status, geographical location, and economic wealth, the ideal held up to each of them was the domestic figure of a pious, emotionally sensitive middle-class wife and mother, who cared for her children, submitted to her husband, and embodied the future of Nation or Empire. In very general terms, the characteristics of this ideal were shared by English-speaking cultures wherever they spread throughout the world.

Implicit in this construction of gender was a logic which identified mobility as a masculine attribute and immobility as a feminine one. This has been acknowledged by critics in a multitude of discursive, literary and historical studies: Teresa de Lauretis suggests that, in narrative logic, "the hero must be male . . . because the obstacle, whatever its personification, is morphologically female" (119); Karen R. Lawrence notes that "[i]n the multiple paradigms of the journey plot—adventure, pilgrimage, exile, for example—women are generally excluded, their absence establishing the world of the journey as a realm in which man confronts the 'foreign'" (1); Moyles and Owram state that, in Victorian England, "[i]mperialism was, officially at least, a male enterprise. That was an accepted fact of Victorian female life" (187). This construction was so embedded in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century conceptions of gender that the Edgeworths advised, in their influential treatise on *Practical Education* (1798), that, although *Robinson Crusoe* was dangerous reading for "boys of an enterprising temper," girls could read it without danger, for "girls must very soon perceive the impossibility of their rambling about the world in quest of adventures" (336).

Notwithstanding the Edgeworths' assurance, many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women did travel the world: they visited friends and family; they engaged in travel for recreation, health or self-improvement; they emigrated to make homes for families throughout the British Empire. However, the identification of women with the domestic space produced a cultural suspicion about the value of women's travels. James Buzard suggests, in his analysis of fictional representations of women travellers in Europe, that a model of travel developed in the post-Napoleonic period which identified the imaginative benefits and cultural improvement of 'real' travel with the independent, mobile male subject, and the commmodified, mass-produced practice of mere shallow tourism with female travellers (130, 139-47). This suspicion of women's qualifications to experience the genuine acculturating effects that were supposed, in the tradition following the Grand Tour, to arise from travel, and an equal suspicion about women's ability then to disseminate the effects of culture in any valuable way, is what lay behind the RGS's reluctance, in 1892-93, to allow members of "vagrant womanhood" (Curzon) to identify themselves as Fellows of the RGS.

Although the RGS refused to recognize women travellers, the publishing industry and the reading public did acknowledge their existence, often enthusiastically. As Frawley suggests, women travel writers achieved public recognition for their narratives in part because of the novelty of the idea of a woman traveller; it was a risky and unusual choice, given that women's cultural authority lay in domesticity (24), and travel denoted a movement away from the home.[4] Female circulation outside the domestic space has always had dangerous connotations of wandering and sexual promiscuity, as Lawrence observes (16)—whether that circulation took place as physical travel, or as textual self-representation and self-publication (Gilbert and Gubar 53). Some writers exploited the titillation in the idea of a woman traveller in order to market their books; Buzard cites the anonymously published *Unprotected Females in Sicily, Calabria, and on Top of Mount Aetna* (1859).[5] However, as Foster and Mills both note, most women travellers stressed their femininity and modesty, paying at least lip service to the conventions of women's dress and deportment, perhaps in order to distance themselves from imputations of impropriety (Foster 11-12; Mills 72).[6] As Poovey has shown, the discursive construction of gender as separate spheres of male and female activity was not an entrenched and homogeneous prescription, but was uneven, both in the ways in which gender was articulated through different institutions and texts, and also in the ways in which it was experienced by different individuals. This created contradictions and opportunities for oppositional voices (3-4). Thus the discourse of gender was—and continues to be—characterized by what Michel Foucault describes as "a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies" (100).[7] My dissertation investigates how women travel writers constructed cultural authority, in the narratives they wrote, by articulating their travels through the discourse of gender and by exploiting, "in various strategies," elements of that discourse which could create a textual space for the woman traveller in Canada.

Women and Wilderness

With this goal in mind, the texts I am focussing on are those by women whose travels are all characterized by a sense of being "first," of passing beyond the geographical or narrative boundaries of previous women's travels, and beyond the settlement frontier. In 1836, in an era when most women travel writers only visited the main towns of Upper Canada, Jameson travelled into the upper Great Lakes and through Georgian Bay. In 1867, Sœur Marie Lapointe described her journey to Fort Providence on Great Slave Lake, to establish the first northern mission for the Sœurs de charité de Montréal (the Grey Nuns). Mary Agnes FitzGibbon (1851-1915) wrote about life on a railway contract west of Lake Superior, in 1877-78, during the construction of the CPR. Ellen Elizabeth Spragge (1854-1932) and Lady Agnes Macdonald (1836-1920) both described railway journeys made into the North-West in 1886, in the first year of the CPR's transcontinental operations. In 1892, Elizabeth R. Taylor (1856-1932) travelled to Aklavik on the Mackenzie River. Her northern

travels were repeated, with variations in itinerary, by Colcleugh in 1894, by Cameron in 1908, by Miriam Green Ellis (1881-1964) in 1922, and by Lady Vyvyan and Dorrien Smith in 1926. In 1905, Mina Hubbard (1870-1956) explored the interior of Labrador, and mapped, for the first time, the George and Nascaupi rivers. Each of these women travelled north or west of the settlement region of Canada, into, in Kröller's words, the "playground" where British manhood proved itself in confrontation with hostile nature and social disorder (89). This region was the wilderness.

There has been a general unwillingness, in Canadian literary criticism, to consider women's wilderness writing outside the context of settlement; the writings of the Strickland-Moodie-Traill family have received the most attention.[8] James Polk's study, *Wilderness Writers* (1972), focusses on the genre of the animal story as it is written by Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Grey Owl. T.D. MacLulich, in his survey of a tradition of Canadian wilderness writing, considers a variety of texts: exploration narratives by Samuel Hearne and David Thompson, as well as later explorers such as Vilhjalmur Stefansson; animal stories by Roberts, Seton, Grey Owl, and Farley Mowat; novels offering "a close look at native life and attitudes" towards the wilderness, by writers such as Rudy Wiebe and Margaret Laurence (13). However, with the exception of Laurence, MacLulich's article excludes from his wilderness canon, for one reason or another, most of the women's texts he considers. Heather Murray's article "Women in the Wilderness" does acknowledge a Canadian women's wilderness writing, in "fictional or semi-fictional accounts of bush travel or experience, in letter or diary form, frequently unpublished or not republished from an original periodical appearance" (75). However, after a brief consideration of the nineteenth-century settlement narrative, *Roughing It in the Bush* (1851), by Susanna Moodie (1803-85), Murray turns her attention to the construction of a figurative "pseudo-wilderness" in modern Canadian fiction.

Some attention has been paid to the representation of wilderness in the writings of individual women: I.S. MacLaren compares landscape representations by Frances and George Simpson ("Touring at High Speed") and offers some useful speculations about women's wilderness writing in his treatment of Lady Vyvyan's narrative ("Land Beyond Words"). A significant amount of the criticism on Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838), which I shall discuss in the following chapter, tends to celebrate the emancipatory potential of her wilderness journey. However, with these few exceptions, there has been little attention paid to the considerable body of literature written about wilderness travel by women. My dissertation begins with Murray's suggestion that "accounts of bush travel or experience" by women do exist; many have, in fact, been published in book or periodical form. This project begins the work of identifying the ways in which nineteenth-century women travel writers constructed textual authority to describe travels in wilderness[9] and other spaces of frontier adventure.

As I shall discuss in specific detail in later chapters, the North and West of Canada were constructed, in the English-language literatures of exploration, sport, travel and adventure, as a region for male enterprise. This was partly due to the

institutional domination of activities in these regions, by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) (the fur trade), the Royal Navy (Arctic exploration), the CPR, the missionary churches, and the British and Canadian governments; the activities of these institutions produced much of the literature which described the North and West.[10] In this literature, wilderness is represented in terms of female absence, and the male hero-subject is constituted by confrontation with the landscape. The women who travelled these Canadian wildernesses were from eastern Canada, Britain and the United States. They were for the most part untrained in wilderness skills, and each of them relied, either formally or informally, on transportation and guidance provided by institutions. Their journeys, and thus what their narratives describe, were shaped by the means of travel available to women, and by the way institutions positioned women travellers in 'their' territories. One consequence of the high level of institutionalization of the Canadian North-West is that Canadian woman travellers never entirely left the cultural context of Europe. As a result, the cultural context of Canadian travels was always European; the woman traveller never actually left the audience of European culture behind in the way that, for example, Isabella Bird might when she travelled alone through Japan, meeting and interacting with Japanese political authorities, innkeepers, and restauranteurs. Even Mina Hubbard travelled with a crew of men who were, except Job Chapies, all of mixed European and indigenous heritage, and who preserved many of the customs and attitudes of European culture, such as abstaining from work on Sundays or maintaining a gendered division of labour.

As well as the material and ideological construction of their travel activity, however, women travel writers also faced the material and ideological conditions under which their narratives reached a public audience. Their narratives describe a terrain—the wilderness beyond the settlement frontier—that is traditionally constructed as a space for male activity; however, nineteenth-century women's cultural authority, as I have discussed above, rested in a domestic identity—an identity explicitly at odds, not only with the wilderness terrain they travelled, but also with the elements of adventure, confrontation, violence, and survival which made wilderness writing so attractive to its readers. In these narratives, then, the strategies that women use to write themselves, *as* women, into the masculine activity of travel in places which were discursively constructed as space for masculine adventure, become particularly visible. In examining the travel writings by these women, I consider not only how the discourse of gender shaped their access to the means of travel, but also how women articulated their travels through the discourse of gender, inscribing themselves as travellers who were also women into the tradition of writing about the imaginative space of the Canadian 'wilderness.' By focussing on published texts, I also consider how women's writing was shaped by the publishing industry which produced it for the nineteenth-century literary market.

Travel and Privilege

In order to produce travel literature, a writer must have the ability to write, the ability to travel, and access to an audience. She must have not only education, but also leisure to write and a cultural context that, at the least, does not forbid the activity. She must have not only the personal resources (i.e. money and independence) to travel, but also a purpose for doing so: employment, familial obligations, health, or simply the cultural conviction that travel is a valuable, entertaining, or enlightening activity. Finally, having travelled, she must also be able to convince a literary market that sufficient readers will be interested in *her* descriptions of the subject to warrant a publisher's investment of capital. In the English-language tradition, travel literature thus tends to be produced in and for a metropolitan context, where readers and capital exist to provide the means of publication: the British publishing industry was centred in London and Edinburgh as the American publishing industry was centred in New York.

Thus women travel writers, in the English-language tradition, are almost exclusively white and middle or upper class—the classes which have the means and leisure to travel. These travellers were not necessarily independently wealthy. Many funded their travels by writing articles or books, selling paintings, or giving lectures, and a few, as Frawley has noted, used travel writing as a non-fictional genre in which to write about art, sociology, history, or other subjects, and thus constructed professional identities based on the experience and knowledge acquired through travel (33). However, most women travel writers came from the middle classes, that part of society which considered travel a culturally valuable activity.[11]

Much of the travelling woman's authority thus lay in her particular positioning, as a white middle-class woman, within the patriarchal hierarchies of imperialism. The identity of the woman traveller as a mobile subject who 'speaks' the travelled terrain and the observed 'other' depended upon the class connections that allowed, for instance, Anna Jameson, wife of the Vice Chancellor of Upper Canada, to prevail upon Indian agents, government officials, and missionaries to provide her with transportation and accommodation where no tourism infrastructure existed. Further, the ideas of 'purity' and 'domesticity' that underwrote the domestic discourse that constructed middle-class femininity had, as Mariana Valverde has shown, clear racial and ethnic organization (32). Appropriate femininity, then, often expressed itself in terms of what it excluded, in terms of race, class, and gender. For instance, white women's ability to distance themselves from the sexual connotations of women's 'wanderings' often depended upon the displacement of female sexuality from the body of the middle-class white woman to that of a racialized 'other,' as, for example, FitzGibbon's representations of indigenous women suggest.

While narratives by male writers may have had institutional backing (such as those editions of explorers' narratives published by John Murray and authorized by the Admiralty), women's lack of status in the public sphere meant that they had little chance to influence either government or private institutions to provide access to publication. Women's travel narratives thus negotiated between market demands for

information, adventure, and novelty, and subject positions which depended for their authority upon appropriate constructions of femininity. Maintaining this balance authorized women's travel writing.

This study begins by investigating women's literary strategies for representing themselves as travellers in the Canadian landscape. In Chapter One, I consider British writer Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838); by situating her narrative in the context of other pre-Confederation travel narratives by women about Canada, I examine how Jameson draws upon both her own already-established reputation as a writer and art critic, and also upon the Romantic tradition of the poet-philosopher wandering in Nature, to authorize her own combination of travel and social critique. In the years following Confederation, as 'Canada' expanded to include the North-West, women's access to travel and writing was limited by the lack of infrastructure. In Chapter Two, I examine the different ways in which the Grey Nuns, who travelled in the North-West as missionaries, and Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, who travelled to Manitoba before the CPR opened the West, construct themselves as women travellers in the wilderness. Chapters Three and Four share a concern with the ways in which women's travel and travel writing are structured by the material and institutional infrastructure of travel. Ellen Elizabeth Spragge and Lady Agnes Macdonald published some of the earliest women's travel writing about the North-West, immediately following the completion of the CPR in 1886; Chapter Three investigates how the experience of railway travel sh ,ed these women's travel narratives about the North-West, by transforming the space of wilderness adventure into a space for wilderness recreation. Chapter Four similarly treats women's writing about travel on the Mackenzie River in the decades following the introduction of steamboat transportation; by examining several women's travels between 1892 and 1926, I turn my attention to the question of how women positioned themselves in relation to the discourse of northern adventure, and how their narratives were shaped by a variety of publication venues. In Chapter Five, I look at the process of publication itself. By comparing Mina Hubbard's field notes of her 1905 expedition of exploration into the Labrador interior with the published narrative that appeared in 1908, I analyze how the explorer's need to construct an authoritative narrative voice reconstructs the relationship between the narrator of the published book and her mixed-blood guides; a further consideration of the reception of Hubbard's explorations and of her published writings in book reviews and in subsequent retellings of her story reveals how gender inflects both the production and reception, and thus the ultimate meaning, of women's travel activity.[12]

The attitudes of institutions such as the RGS repeatedly suggested that "Ladies"—that is, white women of appropriate class status and public morality—weren't "meant fer explorin'." Women who travelled, particularly those who travelled in unfrequented regions, thus had to find a way to represent their travels in terms of what the discourse of gender suggested ladies were, supposedly, "meant for". Taylor brought back botanical and biological specimens from the Mackenzie Delta; Colcleugh collected ethnographic materials which formed the basis for the Subarctic Collection at the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology; and

Hubbard provided the information on which the first maps of the Labrador interior were based. Although they brought back scientific and cultural material that their own culture valued, nonetheless, in the writing and the reception of their narratives, these women still had to negotiate the publication of those activities in terms of what their society and readers felt ladies were "meant for." They had to reinvent what it was to be a traveller in skirts.

Notes

1. In 1926, Clara Coltman Rogers was unmarried. In 1929 she married Sir Courtenay Vyvyan (Vyvyan, *Roots and Stars* 176-77). Her articles "On the Rat River" and "The Rat River," published in the *Canadian Geographical Journal* and in the *Geographical Journal*, respectively, appeared under her maiden name; subsequent publications were run under the name C.C. Vyvyan. Although she was Rogers when she travelled, and Vyvyan by the time she published most of her writing about the Rat River journey, for the sake of clarity I will refer to her by her married name throughout this dissertation.

2. Among the relatively few professional women travel writers in pre-Confederation Canada were Frances Trollope, who also published travel writing about Italy, and Anna Jameson, who wrote about travels in Italy and Germany before her Canadian travels. In Canada as elsewhere, the late-nineteenth-century rise of the woman journalist resulted in an increasing number of women travellers, as the periodical and daily press provided a market for their writings and an income to fund their travels.

3. Women's travel literature, particularly in the Canadian context, was so contingent on the circumstances of individual women's access to transportation and publication that it is, in fact, often difficult to identify anything more than the broadest commonalities in the tradition as a whole. Women's texts about Canada often received only limited circulation, and women travellers were often unaware of those women who preceded them. The identification of a tradition, then, is as much an act of critical invention as it is an innate characteristic of this body of literature.

4. As Nancy Armstrong has shown in her study of *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, it was precisely this ideological location of women's identity in domesticity that authorized women to write and publish the genre of the domestic novel, to such an extent that literary discourse was "feminized" by the nineteenth century. Carole Gerson's observation, in *A Purer Taste*, that women's influence was thought to contribute to a refinement of public reading taste from newspapers to "books and more tasteful literature" (5), suggests a similar feminization of literary culture in Canada.

5. This interest in women's travels, not for the factual information about the region travelled but for the risqué fact that the central character was a transgressive woman, also characterized women's journalism of the time. Lang notes that women journalists such as Kathleen Coleman, known as "Kit of the Mail," became personalities who were marketted by newspapers to attract readers. Women's reports lacked the "respectably objective anonymity" of the stories written by their male counterparts. Instead, the appeal of the woman journalist lay in the careful construction of a persona who then "starred" in her own stories: "how she felt and how she went about

discovering her information was an integral part of her news. . . . Simply by being there, Kit made herself into news" (87). Using a similar strategy, many travel narratives by women foreground, in their titles, the gender of the traveller.

6. My methodology in this dissertation rests on the assumption that the genre of travel writing is autobiographical: that is, that the events described by the first-person narrator of the travel account are generically assumed to be based on the 'true' experiences of the author. The authority of the genre lies in the eyewitness testimony of the writer, and this generic characteristic made the travel narrative particularly useful for nineteenth-century women writers, who could thus base their public voices on the authority of personal experience. However, the travel narrative is also a textual construction, and although it lays claim to the authority of 'truth,' as Percy Adams demonstrates, throughout the genre's history that claim has been contested (*Travels and Travel Liars*). Women writing about their travels were thus also constructing representations which would be read back upon their own lives. Their narratives were shaped not only by what happened to them during their travels, but also by how they, and their publishers and editors, felt those travels should be represented to the reading public.

7. For example, women travel writers could construct public voices, as I have suggested above, by grounding their narratives in personal experience. The travel narrative was particularly amenable to women's use within many of the conventions of femininity. Travel itself may have had dangerous connotations for women, but travel literature as a genre was deemed morally superior to the novel, as Kate Flint demonstrates (115, 155). Further, not only was travel writing rooted in personal experience, but also its conventional forms, the journal or letter, were traditionally associated with women's personal expression.

8. For example, see Edward H. Dahl's work in *"'Mid Forests Wild": A Study of the Concept of Wilderness in the Writings of Susanna Moodie, J.W.D. Moodie, Catharine Parr Traill and Samuel Strickland, c. 1830-1855* (1973), Elizabeth Thompson's analysis of *The Pioneer Woman: A Canadian Character Type* (1991), and Gillian Siddall's dissertation on "'Two Kinds of Geography': Complicity and Resistance in Canadian Pioneer Literature."

9. I am using the term "wilderness" quite loosely in this study, to designate, in the Oxford English Dictionary's definition, regions understood to be characterized by "wild or uncultivated land . . . [and] uninhabited except by that which is wild" (2: 124); wilderness is culturally a space of "a wild and desolate character where one wanders or loses one's way" (2: 125). It was the moral and sexual connotations of the latter definition which made the writing of wilderness travel so daring for women travel writers. It is not my purpose

here to determine whether the regions travelled by the women I discuss were indeed at the time really "wilderness," nor do I wish to judge, as T.D. MacLulich does, whether or not women's way of writing about these regions constitutes 'real' wilderness writing. Rather, I situate the texts I discuss in the context of a literary tradition of writing which characterizes the same regions as space for wilderness adventure, and I analyze how women's narratives negotiate that already-existing tradition of representation.

10. See MacLaren ("Commentary" 275) and George J. Luste ("History" 41-43) for acknowledgement of the significant degree to which almost all northern travel took place under the auspices of institutional sponsorship, whether formal or informal.

11. James Buzard has noted the extent to which tourism was dominated by the middle classes (6, 15, 48).

12. A full analysis of the reception of women's travel literature in general, in Canada, the United States, and Britain, is clearly beyond the scope of this study. Mills offers considerable analysis of reception in the British context. I am using Mina Hubbard as a case study; the reception and re-telling of her narrative over the decades since its publication reveals some of the general shifts in attitudes towards women travellers, and the uses to which their stories have been put.

CHAPTER ONE

"Be bold, be bold . . . Be not too bold"
Early Women Travel Writers in British North America

> And over that same door was likewise writ,
> *Be bold, Be bold*, and everywhere *Be bold*;
> That much she mus'd, yet could not construe it
> By any riddling skill or common wit:
> At last she spied at that room's upper end
> Another iron door, on which was writ,
> *Be not too bold*. (Spenser 11.54.2-8)

When Anna Jameson (1794-1860) opened her narrative of residence and travel, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838), with this quotation from Book Three of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, she was invoking a centuries-old tradition of heroic knightly quests, undertaken with intrepid daring and underwritten by Christian values. However, the protagonist of Book Three of the *Faerie Queen* is the female knight of chastity, Britamart, and Jameson's text thus mobilizes a textual precedent for her travels in the triumph of Britamart's combination of innocence and boldness over nightmare and illusion.[1] For if the Christian knight, or the latter-day traveller, must, by definition, be bold, the nineteenth-century travelling lady and wife of the vice chancellor of Upper Canada who is the narrator of Anna Jameson's travel account is constantly faced by the admonition, "[b]e not too bold." Jameson spent only nine months in Upper Canada. However, she was the only female travel writer, in the years before Confederation, to publish a book about a journey not only to the rough new cities of British North America, but also through the backwoods settlements and beyond, to the frontier of the Upper Lakes. Her narrative, read in the context of early women's travel writing in British North America, tests the limits of European women writers' narrative engagement with the spaces of the New World.

As almost every critic of women's travel writing has acknowledged, both the act of travel, especially travel alone, and the act of writing took the Victorian woman outside her ideologically prescribed confinement within what has been called the private or domestic sphere.[2] The task, then, for the woman who wrote about her travels, was to find a voice and a position from which to write about her subject with an authority that was not compromised by her unconventional transgression into the public and masculine-gendered spaces of the geographical world of travel and the textual one of publication. However, by the early nineteenth century, English women had been writing and publishing travel narratives for well over a century. A voice, then, existed already, as Helen Buss has suggested:

> . . . a well-worn narrative path, that of the travelling English lady, who offers the reader not only the informed view of the new place, but the entertainment of a humorous, ironic, sophisticated wit, always closely observant, even participating at times, but nevertheless the cultural

> emissary of the English world, which felt itself superior to the colonial. (*Mapping* 87)

This was a voice developed by the sophisticated lady travellers writing about the courts and salons of European society. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Marianna Starke, Hester Thrale, and many others were cultural emissaries of the English world, and their authority as writers lay in their responses to and evaluations of European art, culture, and society. Although their authority as writing subjects and as arbiters of European culture was contested throughout the nineteenth century,[3] their socialization *as* ladies, as women of the upper and middle classes, marked them as embodying English culture, and, through England's shared inheritance of the Greco-Roman tradition, all of European culture. In the post-Romantic paradigm of the traveller, as James Buzard has shown, true travel was accomplished by a lone male "of demonstrably acute sensitivity"; tourism, in contrast, was a feminine practice requiring a constraining male solicitude, since ladies could not travel alone and required extensive supporting paraphernalia and a protective retinue (82). This construction positioned women travellers' experiences and representations as less authentic. However, this, like all ideological constructions, was subject to constant contestation and reinscription. In a culture where the discourse of gender identified rationality as a male attribute and emotional sensibility as a female one,[4] the discourse of the post-Romantic, acutely sensitive traveller was available for appropriation by women—especially ladies—whose superior sensibility and emotional acuity offered discursive authority for writing about their personal experience of the culture and society of Europe.

What was necessary, in the years following the American Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, as more and more British citizens turned their attention to the wider empire, was for women to develop narrative authority to write about their experiences in other places. "Place matters," as Susan Morgan has written (3), and if Europe was a place identified with culture, art, and history, to which women responded with their fine feminine sensibilities, the North American wilderness was quite something else. If ladies had come, by the early nineteenth century, to represent the culture of civilized Europe, their very presence embodying civilized standards and mores, then the only discursive space for self-representation that the colonies offered them was the genre of emigration and settlement, a genre describing the reproduction of British domesticity and of European culture in the service of the British Empire. There was, by the standards of European material culture, little of sophistication or transcendent vision in the raw settlements of the New World. When British women travel writers turned their gaze to North America, they tended to focus on the new Republic's self-conscious reinvention of European culture, rather than on the British colonies, whose backwoods settlements and rough embryo cities were, by definition, engaged only in a marginal and explicitly colonial reproduction of English culture. The colonies had little to attract the lady traveller, whose authority rested in her capacity as social and cultural arbiter. Although the emigration market did produce some narratives dealing explicitly with the settlement experience, few people travelled for pleasure or study in British North America. Thus, with only rare

exceptions, such as Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, British women's travel writing about pre-Confederation Canada is subordinated to interest in the United States. In this chapter, I will first outline the tradition of women travel writers in the period before Confederation, when British North America was a group of small, colonial settlements on the edges of the United States; I will then analyze, in more depth, Anna Jameson's narrative of travel for the ways in which her work pushes at the boundaries of that tradition.

Early Women Travellers in British North America

> I longed to be a tourist, on a visit of choice and pleasure, and not an emigrant in search of a home in a new and very strange land. (Copleston 13)

The opposition that Mrs. Edward Copleston creates between her own situation and that of the tourist in nineteenth-century Montreal was not as absolute in practice as her narrative suggests. Patricia Jasen's assumption, in her study of nineteenth-century tourism in Ontario, that "anyone . . . became a tourist whenever the pleasures of sightseeing, or the pursuit of new experiences and the sensation of physical or imaginative freedom, emerged as the main priority," offers a useful reminder of the multiplicity of narrative voices and stances that characterize any travel text, whether its main focus is tourism, exploration or emigration (7). However, in a general discussion of English-language women's travel writing in British North America, the distinction between emigration and other motivations for travel remains a useful one. In the century preceding Confederation, most published[5] first-person narratives[6] by women describing travel in British North America fell into two categories: those relating to emigration, such as the above-quoted book by Mrs. Edward Copleston, and those describing travels in Canada as part of greater, that is, transcontinental or global, journeys.

Texts in the first group, relating to either temporary residence in or emigration to British North America, describe settlement experiences or give advice to the prospective emigrant.[7] Some of these texts are familiar: *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836), by Catharine Parr Traill (1802-99), and *Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada* (1852), by Susanna Moodie (1803-85), are considered classics of nineteenth-century Canadian literature. These are not travel narratives as such, although they are frequently included in the category, and appear in such bibliographies of travel writing as *The Travellers: Canada to 1900*, compiled by Waterston et al. However, the narratives by Traill and Moodie describe settlement experiences, journeys in a single direction, rather than the more conventional departure-and-return of the travel genre; they describe the attempt to reproduce the domestic space, rather than to depart from it. Indeed, in *Roughing it in the Bush*, the narrative problem that faces the emigrant is precisely her *lack* of mobility: she is not a traveller, and will not be returning to England, but is forced to adapt to the backwoods life and isolation of the emigrant.[8]

Other narratives, describing more temporary settlement experiences but still catering to the emigrant market, include *Sketches and Tales, Illustrative of Life in the Backwoods of New Brunswick, North America. Gleaned from Actual Description and Experience during a Residence of 7 Years in That Interesting Colony* (1845), by Emily Beavan, and *Canada: Why We Live in It and Why We Like It* (1861), by Mrs. Edward Copleston. The former resembles Moodie's text in that it uses the sketch genre to describe backwoods life, manners and customs in a small settlement of mixed French-Canadian, English, and United Empire Loyalist settlers. The latter is a first-person narrative of a middle-class English family's emigration to Canada West. Copleston presents her family's emigration experience of 1856 as a corrective to the earlier, outdated, accounts by Moodie and Traill (15). She describes the family's experimental residence in three different settings as they decide where in Canada West to make their new home: they spend early winter in the Orillia "bush" (43-64), followed by a winter "Season" in Toronto (65-77), and finally they purchase a cleared farm just outside a frontier town.

Although all of the texts in this first group describe travel experiences throughout the eastern colonies of British North America, their main narrative focus is the provision of information for the prospective settler. This kind of narrative is structured by the emigration experience; it is characterized by residence in and adaptation to conditions in British North America, rather than by the observational and distanced stance of the mobile, roving eye of the traveller. Major themes include the financial and agricultural prospects of different regions, the effect of emigration on the finances and class status of the prospective (usually middle-class) emigrant, and the skills and character required for successful emigration. Although these narratives usually also include travel literature's conventional descriptions of customs and manners, scenery, and material progress, this matter is provided only for the preliminary journey to the new home, and for the location(s) in which the emigrant settles; the narrator's lack of mobility precludes the constant reproduction of novelty in the sequence of landscapes and peoples that present themselves to the traveller's eye.

The second group of published first-person narratives by women travelling in British North America focus on the United States but include short sections describing visits north of the American border. In the period of peace and economic prosperity that followed the Napoleonic wars, not only did British travel to the Continent increase, but also British attention turned to the wider world. Interest in the United States, as a new nation developing from British culture and language but experimenting with a different political philosophy in a radically different environment, drew many travellers who sought to evaluate its progress. Also, according to Patricia Jasen, in the years following the War of 1812 American tourists were themselves drawn in increasing numbers to the "Northern Tour," composed of the Great Lakes, the Canadas, the New England States, and a compulsory visit to Niagara Falls[9] despite the as-yet-unreliable timetables and poor accommodations (35).[10] This route's popularity with American tourists and the appeal of Niagara Falls doubtless encouraged British travellers to include some part of the Canadas in

their itinerary. As numerous travel writers, including Mrs. William Minot in an 1816 article in the *North American Review*, documented, the scenes of the War of 1812 and the romantic spectacle of Niagara were already well established as tourism sites by the time British women began to publish travel accounts about the region.

The most famous of these women travellers is probably Frances Trollope (1780-1863), who, in *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832), describes with relief a brief return to the formality and courtesy of the English class system when her itinerary brings her to Niagara. Trollope's indictment of American society, character, manners and morals made her book an infamous example of English travel writing about America. Trollope was, however, preceded by Frances Wright (1795-1852), who wrote a more enthusiastic description of the United States in *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1820). In her book, Wright crosses the border into British territory at Niagara and proceeds through the Great Lakes and down the St. Lawrence to Montreal, describing en route the failings of the landscape, the autumn weather, the transportation infrastructure, the accommodations, the government, the economy, and the emigration and settlement practices of British North America. Although she approves of the romantic landscape and pastoral character of French Canada, she is finally, with relief, driven southward by the approaching winter weather (129-48). Frances Kemble also visited Niagara Falls, although the focus of her narrative, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation* (1835), is considerably farther south; she produces what Shirley Foster has termed one of the most abandoned emotional responses to the Falls (100-01). Harriet Martineau (1802-76) made an equally brief visit, described in *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838): she walks to Fort Erie from Buffalo, and visits Niagara Falls and Queenston Heights (1: 140-74), noting the poverty and lack of progress on the Canadian side of the river before her narrative returns to the United States.[11]

As Maria Frawley has shown, Wright, Trollope, and Martineau foreground their status *as* women in order to ground their narratives in privileged observations of women's lives and the domestic sphere; this strategy lends them a specifically gendered authority to describe the manners and morals of American society, since they have access to a private, domestic world from which male observers are largely excluded. Although Harriet Martineau parlayed that feminine authority into a sociological treatise on political economy in *Society in America*, she shares with Wright and Trollope a textual strategy that stresses the importance of the domestic sphere and developing social institutions for any discussion of a society (Frawley 168-69). These women can be seen as belonging to a larger group of female travellers whom Mary Louise Pratt has characterized as *exploratrices sociales*, who formed a European tradition of "bourgeois women's travel writing" as it developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Pratt distinguishes these women writers, who investigated the social development of the new nations of North and South America, from what she terms the "capitalist vanguardists," who comprised an earlier (and ongoing) tradition of travel writing characterized by more blatant exploitation of new territories and by the construction of "a wholly male, heroic world" (155). She

characterizes the *exploratrices sociales* from her readings of the South American writings of Maria Callcott Graham and Flora Tristan:

> Urban-based rather than rural, the women's accounts follow a different descriptive agenda. . . . Social and political life are centers of personal engagement; each shows a strong ethnographic interest. In the accounts of the capitalist vanguard, interventionist goals often produce a reactive, judgemental energy. Though they share many of those goals, Graham and Tristan have little immediate stake in the outcomes of what goes on around them and write along more interpretive, analytical lines. They reject sentimentality and romanticism almost as vehemently as the capitalist vanguard did. For them identity in the contact zone resides in their sense of personal independence, property, and social authority, rather than in scientific erudition, survival, or adventurism. No less than the men, these women travelers occupy a world of servants and servitude where their class and race privilege is presupposed, and meals, baths, blankets and lamps appear from nowhere. (159)

Maria Frawley, looking specifically at the writings of women travellers in the United States, has observed similar characteristics: an interpretive, objective, analytical style (168) focussing on an investigation of American society which frequently takes a professional tone rather than the sensational tone that characterizes women's travels in other geographical regions (164, 168). Although both Martineau and Wright, like many of the women who followed them, were abolitionists, there remains no question of their belief in their own superiority, in race, class, and education, over most of the people they encounter. Nor do these narratives tend to incorporate ongoing sentimental histories, such as Susanna Moodie and Frances Beavan develop in their narratives. Rather, their depiction of North American society depends upon a distanced observation and description of what they themselves observe, and a deep interest in the institutional structures of the new civilization.[12] These social investigators all tend to subscribe to the idea that women's position in a society is a measure of its civilized development, and thus these narratives tend to focus specifically on the conditions of women's lives and work, along with the travellers' more general interest in indigenous communities, the issue of slavery, and the general progress and development of the United States.

The narratives by Wright and Trollope appeared before Alexis de Tocqueville's immensely popular *Democracy in America* (1835-40).[13] However, both the controversy created by Trollope's indictment of American society and the ferment of public interest responding to Tocqueville's more positive treatment stimulated the market for literary accounts of the development of the new nation. By the 1850s, following the development of regular steam service from Britain to North America[14] and the accompanying increase in ease and comfort of travel, more European women travellers undertook the journey to the United States, and among them some included visits to various parts of British North America: Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley (1806-55) wrote *Travels in the United States, etc., during 1849 and*

1850 (1851); her daughter Victoria produced *A Young Traveller's Journal of A Tour in North and South America during the Year 1850* (1852); Marianne Finch published *An Englishwoman's Experience in America* (1853); Isabella Bird's first published narrative, *The Englishwoman in America* (1853), included travels in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and the Canadas; the Honourable Amelia Murray (1795-1884), one of Queen Victoria's attendants, wrote *Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada* (1856); and Isabella Trotter (1816-78) described her family's North American travels in a narrative addressed to her children, entitled *First Impressions of the New World on Two Travellers from the Old in the Autumn of 1858* (1859). American women also produced travel books about Canada during this decade: *Notes of Travel and Life* (1854) contains letters by American "book pedlers" (5), the Misses Mendell and Hosmer, who include four letters from Canada among those describing book-selling travels in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Virginia, and North Carolina. Carole Gerson's anthology of *Canada's Early Women Writers* cites a narrative by American Adeline Lanman, wife of "then well-known travel writer Charles Lanman" and author of *A Tour down the River St. Lawrence*, an account of a vacation tour taken with friends and related as a letter to her sister-in-law (Gerson 15, 42). This decade also saw the private publication of *Extracts from the Journal and Letters of Hannah Chapman Backhouse* (1858). It contains lengthy excerpts from the English Quaker missionary's journals and letters during her mission work in North America, including the winter of 1833-34, which she spent in Canada West.[15] Backhouse ministered to isolated communities as well as larger towns between Niagara and Toronto, and found conditions as rough as those described by Moodie. However, by the 1850s travel infrastructure in the Canadas had improved, and later travellers often spent more time in British North America: although Stuart-Wortley only briefly visited Niagara and Colonel Talbot's home on the shores of Lake Erie, Bird devotes eight chapters of her book to travels ranging from Halifax and Prince Edward Island to the cities of Canada East and Canada West. In each of these narratives, as in the earlier writings of Wright, Trollope and Martineau, representations of the colonies of British North America are subordinated to a primary focus on the United States, with occasional side trips to Mexico (Stuart-Wortley) or Cuba (Murray).

The explicit contrasts these narratives make between the colonies and the nation to the south are perhaps inevitable, given the political situation of British North America. The United States, whatever its size and variety of landscape and cultures, was at least politically united and, in the fever of nationalism that followed the end of the War of Independence, was in the process of self-consciously developing a literary and cultural identity of its own. That process was precisely what these travellers came to witness, and what caught the imagination, not only of travellers, but also of the reading public in Britain. Bird, for example, landed first in Halifax and visited Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, but, later in her text, she describes her arrival at Portland, Maine:

> We were speedily moored to the wharf at Portland, amid a forest of masts; the stars and stripes flaunted gaily overhead in concert with the American eagle; and as I stepped upon those shores on which the

> sanguine suppose that the Anglo-Saxon race is to renew the vigour of its youth, I felt that a new era of my existence had begun. (88-89)

Although she has already spent considerable time in British North America, it is the United States that represents such possibilities—however ironically phrased—of racial and personal rejuvenation.

Most nineteenth-century travellers occasionally subsume the entire continent under the rubric 'America'; regardless of their approval or disdain for the United States, that country tended to be the focus of their interest and their travels. The colonies of British North America lacked the perceived unity of American culture, as well as the population and infrastructure to make the economic advancement that was very visible in the United States. They were politically and geographically separate, and tended to think of themselves and to be perceived as separate entities of varying economic resources. This separation was encouraged by the relatively poor transportation infrastructure and communications between them. As well, travellers often visited the British colonies separately: Marianne Finch visited New Brunswick from Boston one autumn, returned to spend the winter in Boston, and, after travels throughout the United States the following spring, reached Niagara, whence she returned to England by way of Montreal, Quebec, and Boston. Isabella Trotter and her husband travelled from New York to Niagara, thence to Quebec, and then spent time in the United States before touching at Halifax on her return to England. The maritime colonies were geographically separated by water, but even the Canadas, although politically united, were culturally quite distinct. Travellers observing the backwoods settlements along the wild shores of the Great Lakes tended to see them in a far different light from the long-settled countryside of Canada East, with its French language, culture and pastoral landscape so amenable to romantic stereotyping as a picturesque remnant of the *ancien régime*. Thus although many mid-century travellers did find things to approve of—Isabella Trotter, for instance, praises Toronto's wealth and the beauty of the new university—their descriptions of British North America tended to situate the colonies as isolated communities on the margins of the great republic. And although they might praise the impressive scenery and resource potential of British territory, almost all travellers contrasted that future potential with the present growth of the American nation.

For the most obvious and constant contrast between the United States and British North America in these texts is economic: even those who visit only Niagara Falls comment on the comparative lack of "bustle" and progress on the Canadian side of the river. Isabella Bird notes Nova Scotia's lassitude and want of enterprise almost as soon as she arrives from England (17). Marianne Finch contrasts the "shabby, broken-down aspect" of St. John's with the "smart 'wide-awake' look of a town in the States" and with the "settled smoky respectability" of England (180), attributing Maine's superior advancement to the recent introduction of railways (182). Although as a traveller Finch delights in the novelty that there is "a city where gas-light and coaches are unknown; and that to leave it by land you must commence your journey before daybreak, in an open waggon with a basket of provisions, and your head wrapped up in a shawl" (175), her delight rests precisely in the backwardness of such

a situation on a continent where there is such technological progress that "messages are sent by lightning at the rate of two thousand miles an hour" (175). *Notes of Travel and Life*, a text comprised of letters written by an American book-seller, comments in describing Kingston that "[t]he inhabitants here present a heaviness of movement almost to stupidity; none of the rattle and go ahead that mark our people, but a plodding on, as there exists but little of the poetry of feeling that enter everything done among us" (Mendell and Hosmer 61); the text makes no mention of how successful their book-selling enterprise was.

In contrast to its comparative economic underdevelopment, British North America offered these travellers a return to a territory and culture they understood as British. For those who found American politics, manners or society disturbing, crossing the border offered a nostalgic return to a comfort approximating Home. However much they approved of American technological and economic expansion, and even of the ideals of democratic government, most travellers found something disconcertingly un-English about American manners and appearance. Isabella Bird, despite her overall approval of American culture and progress, notes that "[t]he faded careworn look of the American ladies has given place to the bright complexion, the dimpled smile, and the active elastic tread, so peculiarly English" (183) when she reaches Toronto after a journey through New England. On her return to the United States, she remarks:

> The change from the lethargy and feudalism of Lower Canada and the gaiety of Quebec, to the activity of the New England population, was very startling. It was not less so from the *reposeful* manners and gentlemanly appearance of the English Canadians, and the vivacity and politeness of the French, to Yankee dress, twang, and peculiarities. (323; italics in original)

On her own brief sojourn in the southwestern portion of Canada West, Stuart-Wortley finds "nice English comfort and . . . indescribable refinement" that American hotels lack (28). Comparisons seem to be inevitable, and, in a body of narratives that are largely focussed on description, investigation and critique of American society,[16] the representations of communities outside that society often appear in the text as a comparison to, a supplement to, or an interruption of the narrative's main focus. The net effect is a cumulative representation, in the writing of women travellers, of a pre-Confederation Canada that is fragmented and backwards. Even among those narratives that prefer the British manners, customs and government north of the American border, these attributes are represented as the negative of what has been systematically discovered in America.

The pattern of women's travel writing changes revealingly in the 1860s. Waterston et al., in their annotated bibliography of Canadian travel writing, list 101 travel narratives published in the decade 1850-59; nine of these are by women. The number shrinks to 76 in the following decade; significantly, only two are by women. I attribute this abrupt and disproportionate shrinkage in women's narratives to the American Civil War: women of the classes who published travel narratives were no longer travelling for pleasure in the United States, and, since their travels in British

North America tended only to supplement their main interest in America, they also did not travel north of the border. The number of travel narratives produced by men is not so drastically affected by the Civil War, in part because some men chose to visit America regardless of its unsettled state. More significantly, however, the pattern of men's travels north of the American border had always been very different from that of women's journeys: there are no narratives of sport, exploration, or western adventure in pre-Confederation women's travel writing, whereas these types of narratives make up a substantial number of the male-authored narratives listed by Waterston et al.[17] Although the manners and morals of British North American society do not seem to have offered women travel writers a sufficiently appealing subject to produce publications, the wilderness adventures available in the North-West and in the more isolated regions of the eastern colonies did provide male travel writers with material.

Of the three women's narratives that include Canadian material and were published in the years immediately preceding Confederation,[18] I have already discussed Copleston's 1861 emigration narrative. I shall consider Jane Porter's *A Six Weeks' Tour in Western Canada* (1865) below. Mrs. Muter describes a visit to British North America in *Travels and Adventures of an Officer's Wife in India, China, and New Zealand* (1864), a narrative that includes an eyewitness account of the Indian Mutiny. In this context, Muter's description of her North American journey is a tame and relaxed interlude. As earlier writers contrast Canada to the United States, Muter uses India as the familiar standard by which English eyes see the colonies: the ocean crossing is, comparatively, "a trifle" (184), although she misses the comfort and familiarity of military society; the St. Lawrence is compared to the Ganges and the Indus (193); and the imperial events in the Far East finally pull her and her husband away from their sightseeing (212). As always, English standards come into play, but there is a sense in all of these narratives that the British traveller is making comparisons between foreign sites—and that it is in sites other than British North America that rigorous investigation, exciting progress, or events of imperial import occur.

In the pre-Confederation period, then, the majority of women's travel writings about what was then British North America fall into the two categories I have identified: narratives that include visits to Canada or the maritime colonies as part of larger journeys, presenting often fleeting descriptions of British North American society; and narratives that focus exclusively on British North America material, almost exclusively in the context of emigration and settlement. The result is a body of literature whose dominant approach to British North America is in terms of observation and factual description, although, as Foster notes, the encounter with Niagara Falls is almost always rendered in the "highly charged" language of an emotional rather than an analytical register (97). Descriptions of the sublimity of the Great Lakes crossing and of steamer rides through the rapids at Lachine often also provide similarly emotional responses to the landscape, but the tone of these narratives is predominantly descriptive and evaluative, whether the itinerary comprises the cities of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterways, backwoods settlements, or

emigration experiences. As well, the marginal treatment British territories in North America receive in the narratives of wider travel, which make up most of the texts in the pre-Confederation era, results in a cumulative image of British North America as an imaginative space that lacks sufficient interest to be the sole object of women's travel—British North America is colonial, backward, provincial.

For although many of these women travel writers respond to the sublime spectacle of Niagara and the vast expanses of the lakes and northern woods, often praising the wilderness scenery of British North America, they do not seek out wilderness experiences. As Mary Louise Pratt has observed of other women's travel narratives from the early nineteenth century, the accounts produced by women who travelled in Canada tended to focus on cities and towns linked by transportation, and to document settlement and cultural expansion. They do not travel west beyond Lake Huron, and few even that far west. Isabella Trotter's son, for instance, parts from his parents in Toronto to leave with friends for the "Far West" (162), but Trotter and her husband continue eastward, to Kingston and Montreal. The West is clearly the country for young men, and women travel writers tend to limit their travels to established transportation routes provided by the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence transportation system, the few poor roads between settlements, and, later, the regions made accessible by the Grand Trunk and other railways. Women travellers in the pre-Confederation period thus do not write themselves into several of what R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram identify as the stereotypes or "themes that occupied a majority of writers" in the British views of Canada (8). Although Moyles and Owram's study deals with the period following 1880, the patterns of western adventure, sport, and financial exploitation that they identify as characteristic of British literature written about Canada in the later period were also well established in earlier decades, as were those "Imperial dreams" that women writers did reproduce: emigration, studies of Canadian manners, picturesque tours of French Canada, and visits to indigenous communities. Women travel writers in this period do not tend to write narratives of exploration, sport and adventure, or investment, but their narratives about Canada do analyze Canadian manners, ethnographic descriptions of indigenous communities and of French Canada, and the reproduction of the domestic space in emigration narratives, all material with which women, under the conventional ideologies of femininity, were well qualified to deal.

There are, as I have noted, three exceptions to this pattern of women's travels and travel writing. They are all narratives of travels in Canada West. The most famous is *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838), Anna Jameson's narrative of her residence in Toronto and her travels in throughout Canada West and north to Sault Ste. Marie and Manitoulin Island. The final book in Susanna Moodie's emigration trilogy,[19] *Life in the Clearings versus the Bush* (1853), is a text shaped explicitly by the frame narrative of an excursion to Niagara Falls, which unites a series of sketches, anecdotes, and short romantic tales. The book followed her earlier emigration narrative by only one year, and was solicited by Richard Bentley, Moodie's English publisher, as a sequel to *Roughing It in the Bush*. The narrative in fact includes material that was originally intended for *Roughing It*, but that was

deferred to this subsequent publication (Ballstadt, Hopkins and Peterman 107). The travel experience is secondary to this text and is constantly interrupted by the romantic sketches, which create continual pauses; at points the reader loses sight of the travel framework altogether. Only at the end does the text return to the journey itself, climaxing, as so many travel narratives do, in the encounter with Niagara Falls.[20] It is perhaps significant of this book's secondary attention to the actual material of travel that, although Moodie's narrative of emigration, *Roughing It*, does appear in *The Travellers*, *Life in the Clearings* does not.

Jane Porter writes a text that is more conventionally a narrative describing incidents of travel. Published in Canada, *A Six Weeks' Tour in Western Canada* (1865) is a short 40-page narrative addressed to the "Ladies of Canada" and published as a fundraising endeavour; Porter was, according to her book, trying to establish a musical college in Canada (31), and this text was published in order to raise funds for the project. The "Western Canada" in her title refers to Canada West, and unlike most other pre-Confederation travel narratives, Porter's does not include a visit to Niagara Falls. Rather, her narrative describes a systematic journey from Montreal westward by steamer, to Cornwall, Prescott, Kingston, and Toronto; from there she takes the railway to Hamilton, Port Credit, Oakville, London and Port Talbot, returning to Montreal by way of St. Thomas, Berlin (present-day Kitchener), Guelph and Toronto. Although the narrative enthuses over the scenery of the Thousand Islands and the beauty of lake and river travel, it remains more interested in the communities of Canada West, evaluating and, for the most part, praising the colony's public institutions and buildings, as well as the state of its culture and morals. Porter's narrative does not break the pattern of social and urban focus I have described as typical of women's travels in Canada; however, in her narrative that pattern has the effect of an inventory of Canada's cultural advancement, resulting in a conclusion that it is ready for both Confederation and for the creation of a young ladies' musical college, both being necessary for the further advancement and development of the region.

The distinction I have created in this chapter between narratives of emigration and settlement and those of travel is a necessary strategy for the investigation of these works as literature; for the historian using them as primary sources of transportation conditions or of women's lives in the colonies, this distinction might be less necessary. There is, in fact, considerable overlap between straightforward narratives of travel and those of emigration and settlement. The settlement project was one of the main narratives characterizing the idea of Canada in British minds. Prospective settlers made up a sizeable share of the market for literature written about Canada, and almost all travellers accordingly offer some description of the life of the emigrant or settler, just as many emigration narratives include material typical of the traveller or tourist. However, the stance of the traveller is fundamentally different from that of the emigrant, who, even in such cautionary narratives as Moodie's *Roughing It*, inscribes a narrative of successful adaptation to her new conditions. The traveller, who ultimately returns to England and speaks both to and from the metropolitan site

of publication, typically maintains a far more distanced and unchanging, if still interested, stance.

Anna Jameson's Rambles

Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) is, as I have indicated, a narrative of travel that stands in contrast both to the limited travel patterns described in the texts I have discussed above, and also to the generic style and form of those narratives. Jameson travels beyond the cities and backwoods settlements of Upper Canada to the upper Great Lakes, and her text consists of a sprawling three-volume narrative encompassing descriptions and analyses of Canadian society and politics, the status of women, education, treatment of indigenous peoples, literary and artistic criticism, and philosophical and epistemological commentary, all combined in the framework of a descriptive travel narrative written in the form of a highly personal journal addressed to an intimate, sympathetic and like-minded reader—a reader usually positioned as feminine. It is a narrative in which authority is situated, Bina Friewald suggests, not in an objective factual account, but in an epistemology which roots "the truth" in the personal and emotional response of the feminine narrator, as related to the narratee (65-67). This is a far cry from the objective, analytic stance that Frawley claims characterizes contemporary writers such as Trollope, Wright and Martineau, but it allows Jameson to unite a variety of disparate material in the framework of travel and personal address. At the same time, however, Jameson shares the concern of other travel writers for the slow economic growth of Upper Canada in comparison to the United States, and her social analysis of the colony can be read in the same context as those by contemporary women travel writers. Further, her passionate descriptions of the landscape during her travels on Lake Huron can be seen as a wider application of the typically extravagant and emotionally charged writing that characterizes most depictions of Niagara Falls. Her narrative is not entirely anomalous in the tradition of women's travel writing at this date.

Given Jameson's cultural status as a writer and critic in England and the literary sophistication of her narrative, it is perhaps not surprising that, with the exception of Susanna Moodie, she has received the most critical attention of all the writers I will be considering in this dissertation. The text's complex interworking of emotion, description, analysis, and intertextual allusion has provided Canadian critics with considerable scope for literary and historical analysis. As Helen Buss has noted ("Anna" 42), Jameson's narrative has been subjected to a variety of reading strategies: Friewald considers Jameson's inscription of a "feminocentric discursive universe in which narrator, narratee and narrated are all significantly female and woman-oriented" (62); Ilona Ryder and Gisela Sigrist have each investigated the influences of German Romanticism on Jameson's strategies for writing herself into the natural world of the Canadian landscape; Leslie Monkman analyses Jameson's representations of indigenous peoples; Clara Thomas has brought valuable

biographical information to the reading of Jameson's text; Lorraine M. York has analyzed the conflict between European aesthetics and the new world landscape in Jameson's descriptions of the wilderness, while Thomas M.F. Gerry considers Jameson's feminist aesthetic in the light of sketches drawn during her Canadian travels; Gillian Siddall offers a feminist/postcolonial reading of Jameson as a transgressive colonizing "adventurer" (75-99); Buss herself reads it into a tradition of women's life writing under the designation "epistolary dijournal," a genre that, she suggests, allows the inscription of multiple coexisting subject positions by blending the narration of a journey's itinerary and events with the reflections and intimate personal address that are more characteristic of a diary addressed to a "beloved 'other'" ("Anna" 44). The many critical uses to which Jameson's text has been put testify to the narrative's linguistic and literary complexity.

It is not my purpose here to offer 'the' correct reading of Jameson's work. The rigorous, in-depth textual analysis that Jameson's text deserves, and has yet to receive, lies beyond the scope of a mere half-chapter of a dissertation.[21] For the purposes of my study, Jameson's text is interesting for the formal, textual strategies and the cultural discourses the writer mobilizes to represent herself, a cultured English woman traveller, as a rambler through the natural landscape of Upper Canada and the Great Lakes. My critical framework begins with the assumption that this book is a travel narrative, and as such belongs to a literary genre. It is thus structured not only by absolute fidelity to material, historical events—that is, to the writer's actual experiences—but also by the demands of the genre, the writer, and the material and discursive conditions of literary production. Read from this standpoint, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* can be seen as a highly structured feminist appropriation of the Romantic figure of the traveller; it is an appropriation that refigures women's relationship with the wilderness.

Anna Jameson was born Anna Brownell Murphy, the daughter of an Irish miniature painter and an English gentlewoman. When she came to Canada in 1836, at the age of forty-two, she had already published several books of travel, art, and literary criticism,[22] and had been contributing to the support of her family from the age of sixteen. *Characteristics of Women* (1832), a book analysing the female characters in Shakespearean drama, had established her as a literary critic. Along with her several biographical works on famous women and their relationships with men and society, including *Memoirs of the Loves of the Poets* (1829) and *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns* (1831), her literary and historical writings had established Jameson as a popular writer on questions of women's character, their place in society and their education. The artistic commentary included in *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826) and *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad* (1834) had also begun to establish her reputation as an art historian, which would lead to several more books over her career and would establish her as a major force in forming Victorian artistic taste (Thomas, "Anna" 54). She had travelled extensively on the Continent. In 1821, she went abroad as a governess, and from her experience of European art and culture wrote the novel *Diary of an Ennuyée*. In 1829, she travelled with her father and his patron's family, and on that trip she first encountered German art and culture; this

journey provided much of the material for *Visits and Sketches*. Finally, in 1833 and 1834, she returned to Germany with the social contacts and cultural status to provide not just an entrée into the best society (including the Goethe circle) but also status within that society, as the triumphant author of the well-received Shakespearean analysis in *Characteristics of Women*. By comparison, the cultural and emotional isolation, ignorance, and social rigidity of Upper Canada must have seemed stultifying.

However, although this contrast and Jameson's personal circumstances[23] go a long way towards explaining the predominantly negative depiction of Toronto and its society in the first volume, a critical reading of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* must also consider the narrative's depictions of life and travel in Toronto, in the surrounding settlements, and on the frontier as representations functioning within a text. Of the first volume's 315 pages, 144 discuss European (mostly German) and English literature, art, and philosophy.[24] Literary and cultural study is intermingled with descriptions of Toronto, winter conditions, a house fire, social life and Toronto society, indigenous peoples, government and politics, as well as commentary upon such questions as education, child support, and the status of women; also included are a biography of Colonel James FitzGibbon,[25] and accounts of extended journeys to Niagara Falls (64-97) and to Erindale (294-315). For much of this volume, the narrative tone oscillates between peevishness and criticism, characterizing Toronto, in perhaps the best-known passage in the text, as "a little ill-built town on low land, at the bottom of a frozen bay, with one very ugly church, without tower or steeple; some government offices, built of staring red brick, in the most tasteless, vulgar style imaginable; three feet of snow all around; and the grey, sullen wintry lake, and the dark gloom of the pine forest bounding the prospect" (1: 2); Canadian politics are characterized by "strange, crude, ignorant, vague opinions" (1: 35), and Toronto society by

> the worst evils of our old and most artificial social system at home, with none of its *agrémens*, and none of its advantages. Toronto is like a fourth or fifth rate provincial town. . . . We have here a petty colonial oligarchy, a self-constituted aristocracy . . . and we have all the mutual jealousy and fear, and petty gossip, and mutual meddling and mean rivalship, which are common in a small society. (1: 98-99)

Much of the first volume focusses on the narrator's[26] discontent and unwilling solitude, figured in repeated imagery of wasting and isolation, from the "faint ethereal smile of a dying martyr" brought to mind by the rainbow in the mists of Niagara Falls (1: 91), to the slow death of trees by "*ringing*," which she characterizes as one of "the two ways in which a woman's heart may be killed" (1: 97), to her search for something to occupy her "[b]efore the languid heart gasp and flutter itself to death, like a bird in an exhausted receiver" (1: 170). The narrative describes a life where "the monotony of this, my most monotonous existence" (1: 107) is broken only by a catastrophic fire (in someone else's house) and where the only "rescue" from the combination of environmental and social isolation is the "serious and useful occupation" of intellectual work (1: 172).

This intellectual work, making up roughly half the material of the first volume, serves a variety of purposes in the narrative. First, epistemologically, as both Ilona Ryder (51-52) and Bina Friewald (65, 67) have shown,[27] Jameson is mobilizing a philosophy that situates 'truth,' the claim to authenticity so important to the genre of the travel narrative, in personal and emotional response to experience:

> I know no better way of coming at the truth, than by observing and recording faithfully the impressions made by objects and characters on my own mind—or, rather, the impress they *receive* from my own mind—shadowed by the clouds which pass over its horizon, taking each tincture of its varying mood—until they emerge into light, to be corrected, or at least modified, by observation and comparison. Neither do I know any better way than this of conveying to the mind of another, the truth, and nothing but the truth, if not the whole truth. (1: 3)

Over the three volumes, this methodology allows the narrator to respond open-heartedly and emotionally—in accordance with the discourse of femininity—to all she sees. Jameson's short experience of Canada, only nine months in comparison to the lengthy residences described in the narratives she cites by Henry Schoolcraft (1793-1864) and Alexander Henry the Elder (1739-1824), nonetheless acquires valid authority as a truthful and authentic narrative by recentering its terms of valorization, not on the authority of long experience in North America, but on her cultural sensibilities, already well established and widely acknowledged in Europe and England. This strategy situates the value of the narrative and the journey in her response to the landscape and people; the prolonged aesthetic musings of *Winter Studies* teach the English and European reader how to value Jameson's own responses. Within the context of the first volume, the epistemological and aesthetic standards by which the narrative will reproduce Canada for its English audience are established.

The narrative's various literary studies serve as more than a true reflection of Jameson's activities during the winter months in Toronto; they also serve the thematic purpose of establishing the narrator's authority, by representing, as Buss ("Anna" 46) and Thomas (*Love* 127-28) state, the withdrawal into literature of the cultured but disenfranchised woman. However, *Winter Studies*, as a volume, functions as more than a prolonged epistemological and aesthetic introduction to *Summer Rambles*. Half the material of the first volume includes, as I have noted, conventional travel material: social analysis, travel description, the narrator's personal activities, reproductions of successful emigrant 'types' in the portraits of Colonel FitzGibbon and the Magrath family in Erindale. The cultural standards and achievements of Europe, with emphasis on women's position and on aesthetic standards, are thus juxtaposed with Jameson's descriptions of Toronto—a society that is artificial (1: 98), where education "appears narrow and defective" (1: 275), where there is no interest in literature, science or music (1: 274), and where both art and architecture are tasteless (1: 68-69, 274). The aesthetic discussions of the 'studies' in the first (and part of the second) volume are also interwoven with aesthetic responses to the natural

landscape, in her visit to Niagara (1: 89-91), her descriptions of the Aurora Borealis (1: 265-66) and of Lake Ontario (1: 291-92), and her journey to Erindale (1: 303-06). These discussions also lead to later aesthetic responses to the natural landscape throughout the journey, to woman-centred descriptions of Canadian legislation and society in the first volume, and to the later volumes' focus on women in settlements and on indigenous peoples beyond Toronto.

The *Winter Studies* section of the text thus situates the narrative persona of the text as highly cultured, sensitive and delicate, with all the attributes of a 'lady.' The narrator's response to colonial Toronto society, as that of a highly sensitive arbiter of European culture, both validates her acutely developed sensibilities, and also casts her in the Romantic role of exile. Jameson develops this imagery of exile carefully in the narrative's opening sections. After an inhospitable arrival (1: 12), and a rigidly formal encounter with Toronto society a week later (1: 13), the narrator's own attempts at social engagement are spurned. Her suggestions for the amelioration of the colony's vast illiteracy problem (reproducing English studies on education to guide the opinions of the people and the policies developed in the government) are rejected:

> . . . cold water was thrown upon me from every side—my interference in any way was so visibly distasteful, that I gave my project up with many a sigh, and I am afraid I shall always regret this. True, I am yet a stranger—helpless as to means, and *feeling* my way in a social system of which I know little or nothing;—perhaps I might have done more mischief than good—who knows? (1: 35-36)

Toronto's rejection of the narrator's suggestions is followed, in the text, by four days of illness, and then by the projected plan to drive by sleigh to Niagara in order to combat the fever with a change of air. Meanwhile, the narrator seeks an alternative to "recording idle days and useless days" (1: 38), turning for the first time to the literary study that will take up a significant proportion of the first half of the narrative. The literary material thus functions as a reflection of the narrator/traveller's struggle to engage with the alienation of the travel experience in this new space: having tried to engage with Canadian society, and been rejected, she first, as a heroine of romantic sensibility, suffers the physical pangs of that emotional rejection in four days of illness and fever, and then turns away from society. She travels to Niagara, the nearest landscape that the European world of culture understands, values, and knows through its previous inscriptions by earlier travellers; that winter landscape disappoints her, rejects her as Canadian society has. Finally, she turns to the study of European culture—a retreat to the culture which values her self and her work, but also an exercise in self-education.

Significantly, at this point in the narrative she reminds her reader of her earlier travels and writings, confiding, in a playful allusion to her successful first novel, that "I have never yet been *ennuyée to death*—except in fiction" (1: 38). The narrative's focus on art and literature thus returns the traveller to the cultural context that values her work; however, it also functions as a search for a framework in which both narrator and reader can understand and value Canada. The narrator's initial self-characterization as an exile from love and sympathetic society, rejected by and

rejecting the provincial social milieu in which she finds herself, and emotionally and psychologically alienated from all she finds there, owes a great deal to the tradition of the romantic heroine, as Gisela Sigrist has noted (114). The forlorn heroine, forsaken and in exile, is a tradition with which Jameson was intimately familiar, having based her earlier successful novel, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, on that persona; other writings in the same tradition include Mary Wollstonecraft's narrative persona in *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796), as well as earlier fictional accounts of abandoned, wandering heroines.[28] The trajectory of that tradition is usually heterosexual; as Karen R. Lawrence has noted, Wollstonecraft's text is characterized by a doubled epistolary discourse, addressed simultaneously to the unfaithful lover and to the generalized reader of the travel guide: "the business of travel and travel writing competes with the preoccupation of abandoned love" (77). Lawrence situates Wollstonecraft's travels at the beginning of a generation of male readers, including Godwin, Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth and Hazlitt, who were powerfully influenced by her revision of "the topoi of both the sentimental traveler and epistolary lover" (76). In contrast, Jameson's creation of a feminine, like-minded, sympathetic "you" as addressee, a kindred spirit from whom the narrator/traveller is exiled as she is exiled from all sympathetic, cultured society, draws on the rhetoric of early nineteenth-century romantic friendships among women,[29] and combines with the text's preoccupation with the status and representation of women to establish what Friewald has considered a feminocentric text. This has the added appeal of preserving the writer's public reputation.[30] With a family in England to support, and a husband who was little financial help, Jameson needed to preserve her ability to publish, as well as the authority in the text that lies in the narrator's identification as a lady of culture and refinement. However, Jameson's text creates the same kind of "sympathetic chain of response between traveller and reader" that Wollstonecraft's does; in both cases, this positioning of the reader reinforces the social vision, travel views lead to cultural views, and the narrative's authority lies in the establishment of the aesthetic response as moral and social (Lawrence 80). Significantly, Jameson's direct address to "you" appears often in the text in the context of her meditations on the position of women. By this strategy, the reader is positioned as a reasonable, sympathetic listener with whom the narrator has shared experience; at the same time, however, the potentially radical polemic is contained within the personal, private address.

The temptation among critics has often been to read Jameson's text in terms of a two-part structure built on the opposition between *Winter Studies* and *Summer Rambles*, "contradictory . . . in structure and in symbolism," as Sigrist suggests (109, 115). The shift in the narrative mood between the depression of the forlorn exile of much of the first volume, and the eager delight in landscape and variety that characterizes the joyful wanderer in the subsequent volumes encourages this reading. For my purposes, however, a structural reading based on the three-volume division of the first Saunders and Otley edition, a division preserved only in the Coles Canadiana facsimile edition of 1970, is more useful. This strategy recognizes that the first volume, too, is a description of travel. This structural division parallels the

narrative's own repetition of a series of ever-wider journeys into the Canadian landscape. In this reading, the first volume describes Jameson's journey by water and land from New York to Toronto and winter activities in Toronto and environs between 20 December 1836 and 30 May 1837, including a winter journey to Niagara and an excursion to Erindale. The second volume relates early summer travels farther away, throughout the towns and settlements between Toronto and Detroit; this volume covers the period from 8 June to 13 July 1837. And, finally, the third volume recounts travel by water rather than land, between 18 July and 14 August:[31] Jameson's steamer excursion northward through Lake Huron to Mackinac Island, where she passes three days, a journey by open boat to Sault Ste. Marie and Manitoulin, and a return through Georgian Bay to Penetanguishene by canoe are described.

The structure of Jameson's text owes as much to a strategy of repetition as to a linear narrative of chronology, despite the regular appearance of dated entries and seasons. The narration of Jameson's successive journeys, for example, repeats the same patterns: her plans are initially met with public dismay from her friends and peers; she proceeds with determination despite textual foregrounding of her own lack of knowledge about conditions and her inexperience as a traveller in the New World; her itinerary and the conditions of travel are always described in terms of desire, hope and contingency rather than certainty. Despite obstacles and uncertainties, she always meets with hospitality from contacts along her route,[32] although the uncertainty of travel arrangements is emphasized throughout. This pattern is evident from the opening of the narrative. The initial journey from New York to Toronto is taken against the "eloquence" of friends "endeavouring to dissuade [her] from a winter journey to Canada" (1: 5-6) and in the face both of her own ignorance about North American travel conditions on the verge of winter freeze-up and also of the shipping line's warning that transportation will proceed only "*as far as the ice permit[s]*" (1: 6; italics in original). The journey, thus uncertain of destination and accommodation, becomes a physical and emotional ordeal ending only with her lack of welcome in Toronto (1: 12)—a lack of welcome that is never repeated in the narrative, but that, having occurred in the opening journey, haunts her later travels.

The same conditions are repeated at the beginning of the second volume, as she proposes a summer journey "of such serious extent, that some of my friends here laugh outright; others look kindly alarmed, and others civilly incredulous" (2: 8). Accommodation, communications and transportation are again unreliable, and possibly nonexistent:

> Bad roads, bad inns—or rather *no* roads, no inns;—wild Indians, and white men more savage far than they;—dangers and difficulties of every kind are threatened and prognosticated, enough to make one's hair stand on end. To undertake such a journey *alone* is rash perhaps—yet alone it must be achieved, I find, or not at all; I shall have neither companion nor man-servant, nor *femme de chambre*, nor even a "little foot-page" to give notice of my fate, should I be swamped in a bog, or

> eaten up by a bear, or scalped, or disposed of in some strange way. . . . (2: 8; italics in original)

She travels from Toronto to Niagara, visiting Queenston and the rapids as well as Niagara Falls, and proceeds through "the whole of this district between the two great lakes," Huron and Erie (2: 77), briefly visiting Buffalo before travelling from Niagara to Hamilton, Brantford, Paris, Woodstock, and London. From there, she again ventures out beyond known territory, to visit Colonel Talbot

> without exactly knowing what reception I was to meet there; for that was a point which the despotic habits and eccentricities of this hermit-lord of the forest rendered a little doubtful. The reports I had heard of his singular manners, of his being a sort of woman-hater, who had not for thirty years allowed a female to appear in his sight, I had partly discredited, yet enough remained to make me feel a little nervous. However, my resolution was taken, and the colonel had been apprised of my intended visit, though of his gracious acquiescence I was yet to learn; so, putting my trust in Providence as heretofore, I prepared to encounter the old buffalo in his lair. (2: 158-60)

Again, the journey is couched in terms of uncertain welcome combined with the traveller's steadfast resolve. The characterization of Talbot as an "old buffalo" invokes an image associated with a wild western landscape that more properly exists some thousand kilometres farther west, but here the image functions to identify Talbot with the idea of an isolated, exotic frontier. The choice of imagery also ends the paragraph on a note of flippant insouciance that both invokes stereotypical frontier dangers, and also contains them within the very carelessness of the traveller's tone; Jameson similarly ends the previous quotation, cited above, by listing the danger of being "swamped in a bog, or eaten up by a bear, or scalped, or disposed of in some strange way" (2: 8). As the projected Talbot excursion foretells, however, and as always happens in this narrative, despite the discomfort of the travel itself, the Colonel's welcome is indeed "gracious," and Jameson extends her visit to six days before continuing on her journey to Chatham and Detroit, where the second volume of the narrative ends with her projected plan to "take [her] chance of a vessel going up Lake Huron to Michillinachinac [sic]" (2: 207).

Mackinac Island was not a distant and isolated site at this period, at least during the summer. It was regularly accessible by lake steamer, and, as the *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes* (1851) of Henry Schoolcraft, American Indian agent and Jameson's host on the island, reveal, travellers from the United States, England and Europe regularly visited during the summer months.[33] Harriet Martineau, who was a friend of Jameson and whose visit to America had immediately preceded Jameson's, describes a visit to Mackinac at the invitation of a farmer, designated "Mr D—" in *Society in America*; Schoolcraft also alludes to Martineau's visit in his *Memoirs* (541). Since Jameson both quotes from and comments upon Martineau's journey, she may well have been aware of this part of Martineau's itinerary.

Jameson's rambles, as I have suggested, are cast in terms of a series of journeys proceeding farther and farther away from civilization and into the natural landscape: first departing from New York to Toronto, then from Toronto to the smaller communities and the Talbot settlement, then finally venturing into the upper lakes. Accordingly, following the pattern of unpredictability and impulse that characterizes Jameson's travels, the third volume of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* opens with the hurried purchase of a ticket on a steamer that has just arrived in Detroit, en route to Mackinac, where, Jameson predicts with some relish,

> I must trust to Providence for some opportunity of going up Lake Huron to the Sault Ste. Marie to visit my friends the MacMurrays; or down the lake to the Great Manitoolin Island [sic], where the annual distribution of presents to the Indians is to take place under the auspices of the governor. If both these plans—wild plans they are, I am told—should fail, I have only to retrace my way and come down the lake, as I went up, in a steamer; but this were horridly tedious and prosaic. . . . (3: 1-2)

Again, the reliance on chance, the willingness to let circumstances and impulse dictate the itinerary, and dismissal of the whole project by others as "wild plans" are all opposed to the "horribly tedious and prosaic" possibility of being forced to play it safe by retracing her steps. Upon arrival at Mackinac, early in the morning, the contingent and uncertain nature of the traveller's plans are again foregrounded, if only momentarily, once the steamer departs:

> Suddenly the thought of my extreme loneliness came over me—a momentary wonder and alarm to find myself so far from any human being who took the least interest about my fate. I had no letter to Mr. Schoolcraft, and if Mr. and Mrs. MacMurray had not passed this way, or had forgotten to mention me, what would be my reception? what should I do? Here I must stay for some days at least. All the accommodation that could be afforded by the half French, half Indian "Madame," had been already secured . . . there was not even a room for me. (3: 27)

The doubts, as she immediately admits, are fleeting, and she "abandons" herself to an enjoyment of "the present, and all its delicious exciting novelty" (3: 28), passing the time until she can call upon the Schoolcrafts in aimless delight: "I strayed and loitered for full three hours along the shore, I hardly knew whither" (3: 28). Only a few hours later she discovers that the McMurrays[34] have indeed forewarned Schoolcraft of her arrival, and she is expected. However, the repetition of doubt and uncertainty, both voiced by a peer group upon departure, and resurfacing in her own inner doubts, is a pattern constantly renewed as Jameson's travels widen in geographical scope.

As I have suggested, doubt and uncertainty characterize the initial public reception of Jameson's travels, as that reception is represented in her text. The effect of this is not only to underline the difficulty of undertaking such a journey for the female traveller, accustomed to rely on the protection and chaperonage provided by reputable and reliable transportation and accommodations,[35] but also to foreground

the novelty and transgressive character of Jameson's own journeys. The very lack of certain transportation and suitable accommodations, combined with the incredulity with which her plans are received, attest to the extent to which Jameson has travelled 'off the beaten track.' Coming after her visit to the Talbot settlement, Mackinac Island is constituted as the next outward step in a progression towards wilderness. Unlike Martineau's host on Mackinac, Jameson's contact is not a gentleman farmer, but an Indian agent and his mixed-blood wife. Jameson's visit to the island focusses on its natural beauty, its martial history as a frontier post, and the indigenous inhabitants, rather than on the agricultural countryside Martineau explores (270-84). At this point in the text, Jameson's "wild plans" have led her to wilderness—albeit a wilderness characterized as "a *bijou* of an island" (2: 68), circumscribed and contained on an island and in the image of a *bijou*, a jewel, a small item characterized by beauty and by female ownership. This aestheticization of wilderness becomes one strategy for representing the natural landscape of women's travels, both here and also, as I shall show in subsequent chapters, in later wilderness writings by women.

Mackinac is not the climactic termination of Jameson's journey. The textual rhythm of Jameson's travels as a series of proposed journeys, which are greeted by uncertainty and contingent upon chance opportunity, continues throughout the rest of the text, as she proceeds farther north to Sault Ste. Marie, then west to Manitoulin, then south along Georgian Bay. This textual rhythm characterizes her journeys as forever daring; it constantly renews the about-to-be-travelled territory as novel and exciting frontier, only to displace that desired territory yet farther away, as each volume in the narrative opens.

However, there is more at stake here than what Lawrence has identified as the traveller's constant anxiety to "make it new" (24). Integral to Jameson's narrative authority is the preservation and continuing reiteration of the impression that her travels are unstructured, unscripted by itinerary or touristic guidebook. For if, as Buzard has suggested, the hallmark of the post-Romantic (implicitly male) traveller is the extent to which his travels are marked by the freedom to be directed by internal sensibility and intelligent curiosity, to be immediately mobile (151), then Jameson's repetition of journeys characterized by a willingness to brave uncertain conditions, to be moved by her own desire, impulse, or curiosity regardless of risk, is rooted in precisely that inscription of the traveller.[36] The traveller's very *lack* of a certain plan, her ability to "[stray and loiter] . . . I hardly knew whither" (3: 28), represent the travel as a wandering journey structured by sentiment and impulse rather than by fact, motive and itinerary. This characterization of the journey transforms Jameson's forsaken romantic-heroine-in-exile in the frozen Toronto wasteland into the romantic-heroine-as-wanderer, an appropriation of the conventionally male figure of the Romantic poet-traveller in the tradition of Wordsworth and Byron. The difference is one of stance, the exile being cast out from the source of meaning (cultured, sympathetic, feminine European society in Jameson's case), and the poet-wanderer finding meaning within her own sensibilities and responses. The transition is a gradual one throughout the first volume, but can be seen in the difference between the narrator's inability to respond with appropriate "astonishment, enthusiasm, rapture"

(1: 82) in her first encounter with Niagara Falls, and her later rapt description of the rapids above, where "beauty and terror, and power and joy, were blended, and so thoroughly, that even while I trembled and admired, I could have burst into a wild laugh, and joined the dancing billows in their glorious, fearful mirth. . . . I shall never see again, or feel again, aught like it—never!" (2: 54).

The extent to which *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* appropriates patterns typical of the Romantic poet-subject of early nineteenth-century literature has been recognized by some critics: Ilona Ryder, for instance, suggests that Jameson's use of emotion as the medium for understanding and reproducing the new world's natural landscape is a strategy shared with writers such as Goethe and Hoffman, in whose work "symbols of emotion carried the German Romanticist though the vague and incomprehensible of the old world" (29), and that her use of nature owes a great deal to the German cult of "'Naturphilosophie,' the spiritualization of inanimate nature" (16). She also notes that the formal characteristics of Jameson's text, the fluidity of style, the loose, fragmented journal format, and the incorporation of commentary on and translation of German writers of the period also point to the influence of German Romanticism on Jameson's inscription of Canada. Gisela Sigrist further suggests that Jameson's overt use of pathetic fallacy, the analogy between sentiment and natural environment, is "a typical means of self-characterization in romantic literature" (109) as written in both the English[37] and German traditions. Both Sigrist and Ryder insist that the *Winter Studies* section of the text, as I have discussed above, functions "to establish the theoretical framework that will enable her [the narrator] to assess correctly the phenomena she will encounter in Canada" (Sigrist 110). However, little attention has been paid to the text's continuing use of 'chapter' epigraphs,[38] quotations from, and references to a wide variety of literature from the English and American tradition. In fact, Sigrist suggests that

> The second part of the book contains a change in the narrative mode. While in the first part of the journal the emphasis is laid on ephemeral mood and on poignant though static observations or analysis, in the second part the narration is adapted to the flux of the journey. The entries in the diary become longer, descriptions of the regions the author is travelling through take more space, while on the other hand quotations from other authors in the form of epigraphs and poems diminish. The author withdraws from the somewhat artificial image of the romantic heroine and it seems as if the landscape, the route, the environment take the lead. (114)

In fact, while the references to *German* literary material certainly diminish in the second and third volumes, there remains a great deal of material from the American and English literary traditions: from Wordsworth (Jameson 2: 1, 86, 234; 3: 1), from *Philip van Artevelde* (1834), the popular verse drama by Sir Henry Taylor (1800-86) (2: 31), from Joanna Baillie (3: 23), from Shakespeare (3: 123, 265) and from Spenser (3: 313); from other writers about North American wilderness or indigenous peoples, including poems by Halleck (2: 134) and Barry Cornwall (3: 151); and from other travel narratives, such as the ongoing references to *Travels and Adventures in*

Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776 (1809) by Alexander Henry the Elder (3: 17-19, 57, 65-68, 202), to the publications by Henry Schoolcraft (2: 109, 3: 123, 132), and to *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada for the Use of Emigrants* by William Dunlop (2: 139).[39]

These poetic epigraphs and allusions serve various purposes in the text, of course.[40] However, one of the most sustained strategies at work here is the incorporation of literary precedent and cultural context for Jameson's travels, as a woman, as a seeker-after-nature, and as a social critic. Thus Jameson's departure from Toronto is prefaced by an excerpt from "The Lay of Elena," from the then recently published verse drama, *Philip van Artevelde* (1834). "The Lay of Elena" is a verse sequence between parts one and two of Sir Henry Taylor's drama, and it describes the heroine's childhood wanderings around her home, through a natural landscape peopled by the fantastical creatures and adventures of her own imagination:

> It was not for the forms,—though fair,
> Though grand they were beyond compare,—
> It was not only for the forms
> Of hills in sunshine or in storms,
> Or only unrestrained to look
> On wood and lake, that she forsook
> By day or night
> Her home, and far
> Wandered by light
> Of sun or star.
> It was to feel her fancy free,
> Free in a world without an end,
> With ears to hear, and eyes to see,
> And a heart to apprehend. (Taylor 135)

In Taylor's poem, the heroine grows up, loses her innocence, and leaves the landscape of childish innocence for a life of illicit love at court. By appropriating this prelapsarian excerpt, however, Jameson mobilizes the idea of a wandering mobility directed by "fancy free" and an apprehending heart. It functions to create a female travel persona who, like Britamart in the epigraph cited at the beginning of this chapter, travels safely and successfully through a dangerous landscape by a combination of innocence and intrepidity. The text's revision of the Romantic poet-wanderer (a figure characterized by sexual adventure in many of its incarnations, notably Byron) into a childlike innocent manages, despite what Marian Fowler has termed the eroticization of Jameson's landscape (169),[41] to avoid the negative sexual baggage that Lawrence suggests is so threatening to the figure of the female wanderer (16, 57).[42] Other epigraphs from books three and four of Wordsworth's *Excursion* (4: 514-18; 4: 558-62; 3: 944-55) valorize the sensibilities of a poet withdrawn from society into a natural landscape in order to consider the relations between nature, society and the human subject. This aspect of the Romantic wanderer serves to authorize Jameson's extended social commentary throughout *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*.

Thus on several levels, Jameson's text mobilizes the discourse of Romanticism to articulate her travels through the Canadian landscape: this discourse allows her to situate her authority in emotional and personal response as a means to truth without compromising her femininity, and despite her short practical experience of the country; romanticism also casts nature as an unfallen world of innocence, avoiding the negative connotations, for a woman traveller, of wandering beyond the boundaries of civilization. The result is a narrative logic in which the narrative voice can slip from the agonized distress of the lover-in-exile, to the unstructured innocence of the child-wanderer, led by her sensitive perceptions and her heart's impulse, to the highly-cultured sensibilities of the art-historian-cum-social-analyst, whose insight into social relationships informs her descriptions of both colonial and indigenous society, to the impassioned, loving sister of the feminocentric world: the interpellated "you," the women of the Johnston-Schoolcraft-McMurray connection and even the natural landscape are appropriated as sisters into the text.[43]

This use of romanticism allows Jameson to send her narrator out into the wilderness without compromising her femininity in a landscape that, even in Jameson's rendering of its history, is characterized by war (1: 73; 2: 48, 104-05, 205, 237-40, 291-306, 330-33; 3: 66, 77-78), starvation (1: 25; 2: 261; 3: 206, 340), degeneration and alcoholism (1: 74, 80, 113-16; 2: 92-96, 112, 253-66; 3: 229, 290-91, 351) and violent death (1: 110-11; 2: 266; 3: 57, 67-68, 74, 179, 192). However, despite friends' dread warnings, which greet her proposed plans for travel throughout the three volumes, Jameson herself encounters no worse obstacles than blistered hands and mosquitoes. The natural landscape through which she travels is not the wilderness invoked by her references to military conflicts between English, American and indigenous inhabitants, to the fur trade, or to the lives of Alexander Henry the Elder and Henry Schoolcraft.[44] While Henry's narrative describes physically debilitating overland treks back and forth between Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, accomplished at great speed and under threat of starvation or attack (59-60, 65-68, 148-55), Jameson appropriates his text into her own 'rambles' between the two sites:

> . . . he makes a very respectable hero of epic or romance. He is the Ulysses of these parts, and to cruise among the shores, rocks, and islands of Lake Huron without Henry's travels, were like coasting Calabria and Sicily without the Odyssey in your head or hand. (3: 18)

Henry's adventures of some seventy-five years previous are relocated into the distant past of legend, while his wilderness journeys are repeated as a latter-day "cruise" or the casual "coasting" of an exotic shore. Jameson's diction here, as in her title and throughout the text, is significant: her travel is not travail. Instead, she 'strays' and 'loiters' (3: 28) and lingers (3: 189); she takes "delicious drives" (3: 65), and runs about the "lovely shore" (3: 37); she "stroll[s] away to pay a visit" before "reclin[ing]" in a canoe to run the rapids (3: 198).[45] Thus although Jameson repeats Henry's route, she does so within the aesthetic framework of a feminized Romantic wanderer. Encounters with nature are characterized by extremes of timeless beauty and wonder: moments of "elysian stillness—a delicious balmy serenity, wrapt and

interfused. . . . wondrously beautiful and strange!" (3: 24), or "wild yet solemn reveries which come over one in the midst of this wilderness of wood and waters" (3: 163). As Siddall notes, Jameson's depictions of Niagara invoke energy, excitement, even a sense of rage, in the landscape (84-85); however, these episodes avoid the fear, confrontation and danger which constitute adventure. Jameson recasts 'wilderness' into 'nature,' and Henry's wilderness adventures, which include massacre, warfare, near starvation, and captivity, become romantic adventures rendered as emotionally charged encounters with nature, or as emotional ties with the indigenous women of the Johnston-Schoolcraft-McMurray family.

Jameson writes herself into relationships with Mrs. Schoolcraft, Mrs. McMurray, and Mrs. Johnston, thus representing them in her text as part of her strategy of repetition, by replaying Henry's relationship with his Ojibwa brother and rescuer, Wawatam. Henry describes how he is adopted "as his son, brother and friend" by Wawatam (74), who later warns him of the massacre of the English inhabitants of the Michilimackinac, and protects him during the period of Henry's captivity and residence among the Ojibwa (98-154). Jameson's own journey along the shores of Lake Huron is of comparatively brief duration: she departs Detroit by steamer on 19 July, arriving at Mackinac early the morning of the 21 July. According to Schoolcraft's memoirs, she left Mackinac on 26 July (561). Following a two-day journey in open boat, she would have arrived in Sault Ste. Marie on 28 July, and the narrative records her departure on 1 August (243). In fact, Jameson spent some fourteen days in the company of different members of the Johnston-Schoolcraft-McMurray family, but the narrative's vagueness about the passage of time in the third volume, combined with the insertion of a great deal of ethnographic material and translated Ojibwa legends and songs, conveys the impression of much wider experience and more intimate contact with the family network.

From the beginning, the narrative constructs relationships of immediate intimacy between Jameson and the women of the Johnston-Schoolcraft-McMurray family. Jane Schoolcraft was "Obah-dahm-wawn-gezzhago-quay," the Irish and Ojibwa wife of American Indian agent Henry Schoolcraft. She and her sister Charlotte (Oge-Buno-Quay), Jameson's "Mrs. MacMurray" were the granddaughters of Wabojeeg (Waub Ojeeg), chief of the La Pointe Ojibwa, whose daughter Oshaguscodawaqua (Susan) had married John Johnston, an independent trader at Sault Ste. Marie (Armour 356-58, Ruggle 680). On her arrival at Mackinac Island, Jameson describes Mrs. Schoolcraft in terms instantly recognizable as stereotypical attributes of the 'lady' under the discourse of femininity:

> . . . she received me with true lady-like simplicity. The damp, tremulous hand, the soft, plaintive voice, the touching expression of her countenance, told too painfully of resigned and habitual suffering. . . . Her accent is slightly foreign—her choice of language pure and remarkably elegant. In the course of an hour's talk, all my sympathies were enlisted in her behalf, and I thought that I perceived that she, on her part, was inclined to return these benignant feelings. . . . she is good, gentle, and in most delicate health, and there are a thousand

> quiet ways in which woman may be kind and useful to her sister woman. (3: 36-37)

Here, finally, in terms of European femininity but embodied in a descendant of the 'natural' indigenous inhabitants,[46] is a "sister" to welcome Jameson with the sympathetic companionship she has sought since her exile to Toronto. Mrs. Schoolcraft and her children accompany Jameson on the journey by open boat to Sault Ste. Marie, where Schoolcraft's mother, Mrs. Johnston, is described in the text as offering a mother's care to Jameson: "I was not well and much fevered, and I remember she took me in her arms, laid me down on a couch, and began to rub my feet, soothing and caressing me. She called me Nindannis, daughter, and I called her Neengai, mother" (3: 185). The fevers and illnesses that are so isolating for Jameson in Toronto and Detroit here create reciprocal female kinship networks, which are based on the "thousand quiet ways in which woman may be kind and useful to her sister woman," as Jameson says of the attention she offers Mrs. Schoolcraft during the latter's illness at Mackinac.

This figurative rhetoric of kinship later extends to an actual adoption, after Jameson rides down the St. Mary's rapids:

> My Indians were enchanted, and when I reached *home*, my good friends were not less delighted at my exploit: they told me I was the first European female who had ever performed it, and assuredly I shall not be the last. . . . As for my Neengai, she laughed, clapped her hands, and embraced me several times. I was declared duly initiated, and adopted into the family by the name of Wah,sah,ge,wah,no,qua . . . . It signifies . . . *the woman of the bright foam*; and by this name I am henceforth to be known among the Chippewas. (3: 199-200; italics in original).

Jane Schoolcraft's version of Jameson's journey, as reported by her husband, is phrased differently:

> Mrs. Schoolcraft writes from the *Sault*, that Mrs. Jameson and the children suffered much on the trip to that place from mosquitoes. . . . "I feel delighted," she says, "at my having come with Mrs. Jameson, as I found that she did not know how to get along at all at all. . . . she is indeed a woman in a thousand. While here, George came down the rapids with her in fine style and spirits. She insisted on being baptized and named in Indian, after her *sail* down the falls. We named her Was-sa-je-wun-e-qua (Woman of the Bright Stream), with which she was mightily pleased.["] (563; italics in original)

The use of the passive voice to describe the adoption in Jameson's narrative, compared with her 'insistence' on the baptism and renaming in Schoolcraft's version of the event, underlines the importance of this acceptance into an indigenous society in Jameson's text. Although the narrative treats Jameson's appropriation of Ojibwa relationship with a playful irony, as she alludes to "my illustrious grand-papa, Waub-Ojeeg," in the text the relationship presumes an essential feminine bond across race and culture, in the context of a very short visit. It also creates a network of

indigenous informants, in the manner of ethnographic fieldwork; Jameson notes that she verifies all her information with the Schoolcrafts, "that I may profit by their remarks and explanations" (3: 55).

Jameson's study of the Ojibwa focusses primarily around an investigation of women's position in their society. She determines that "[t]he woman among these Indians holds her true natural position relatively to the state of the man and the state of society; and this cannot be said of all societies" (3: 300). She goes on, however, to compare them to the state of women in English society, and concludes that Englishwomen are confined to a false position. In the context of the narrative, then, Jameson's interest in indigenous society appears in the service of her early feminist activism: she is not an advocate for Ojibwa women, but for English women. As Siddall has observed, Jameson sees the indigenous women's position as just, because their society is primitive. As society advances (and hers, she considers, is more advanced than theirs) the position of women should advance (94); it is Jameson's complaint that, in English society, it has not. Her romanticized repetition of Henry's adoption by Wawatam thus serves the purpose of not only repeating a textual precedent of wilderness adventure,[47] but also of authorizing her own agenda.

Ultimately, then, Jameson's narrative reproduces the natural landscape and indigenous people of Canada in the service of her analyses of English society and the claims she wishes to make for the education and position of Englishwomen. Her terms of reference remain those of the European culture in which she roots her authority, by mobilizing the discourse of romanticism and reproducing, in her account of her own travels and in her characterization of the indigenous women she represents, an idealized and highly cultured femininity. Her travels extend far beyond the geographical range common to most of her travelling contemporaries. However, the representation of her travels is accomplished by mobilizing the discourse of the Romantic traveller and by expanding patterns of imagery and feeling already in use in contemporary representations of Niagara Falls, in order to facilitate representation of the encounter with all of the Canadian landscape. This revision and aestheticization of the wilderness experience allows for its inscription within the context of an uncompromised femininity—bold, indeed, but not too bold.

Nearly forty years passed, following the publication of Jameson's highly successful *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, before another woman travel writer published her impressions of the Canadian landscape beyond the settled areas of Canada West. Jameson's status as the wife of the vice chancellor of Upper Canada allowed her some autonomy in her wilderness travels; she was able to hire transportation over the rough roads between the settlements and to claim a space in boats and canoes passing through the northern stretches of Lake Huron. Other women were in the Canadian North-West in the period of Jameson's travels. Frances Simpson, for instance, travelled overland from Montreal to York Factory in 1830. However, these women did not publish travel writings, and most of them lacked the kind of cultural status and personal autonomy that characterizes Jameson's self-representation. In the next chapter, I consider the historical conditions that restricted

women's writing about the North-West until after Confederation, and the personal and institutional circumstances that shaped women's travels and how they reached a public audience once they were published. The women whose writings I discuss in the next chapter travelled farther afield than Jameson. However, the anonymous Sister of Charity of Montreal, who wrote *Notes and Sketches Collected from a Voyage in the North-West* (1875) about her journey to the Grey Nuns' missions at St. Albert and Fort Chipewyan, and Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, who described her 1877-78 residence on a railway contract in what is now northwestern Ontario, were the only women to publish writing about women's travel in the North-West before the railway era. Their narratives reveal the difficulty of representing women's travels in a region where such activity was historically gendered and circumscribed by institutions.

Notes

1. Elizabeth Heale's handbook to Spenser's poem notes that Britamart does proceed through the door over which stands the sign, "*Be not too bold*"; however, her "bold chastity makes her largely impervious to the delusive dangers" which ensnare other characters in this book of *The Faerie Queen* (96). Britamart's name combines 'Briton' with 'martial.' She is identified by Merlin as the ancestor of Elizabeth I (3.3.49), and she is characterized as the female Knight of Chastity, which also identifies her with the Virgin Queen of England. This alignment of political power, superior virtue, and national identity underlines Jameson's own narrative identity, as wife of the vice chancellor of Upper Canada, as innocent romantic wanderer, and as a social critic of British culture.

2. See, for example, Maria Frawley 28 and Sara Mills 94-107.

3. Shirley Foster's descriptive survey, in *Across New Worlds*, of nineteenth-century women in Italy provides a useful elaboration of the dimensions of their cultural and emotional engagement with that nation. See Frawley's analysis of women travel writers in Italy in *A Wider Range* (43-102) and James Buzard's analysis of fictional representations of the woman traveller (139-54) for a deeper examination of the difficulties that faced women writers attempting to establish authority beyond the mere charming entertainment of what were perceived as 'lady tourists.'

4. Emotional sensibility was in fact a cultural signifier variously articulated in terms of gender, class and race, as the immense success of Lawrence Sterne's sentimental traveller and the emotional excesses of the Romantic poet-wanderer might suggest. However, as Kate Flint suggests in her analysis of *The Woman Reader*, by the Victorian period the idea of women's superior emotional sensitivity was accepted as a defining feminine characteristic (22); in discussions about the constitution of the opposing sexes, it tended to be opposed to the male rationality.

5. Unpublished diaries and journals of travel abound, in both the pre-Confederation era and after. Often they deal with travel in regions beyond those covered in published women's travel narratives; the unpublished journals of Frances Simpson (1830) and Isobel Finlayson (1840), for instance, describe their journeys to western fur-trading forts long before women's published texts about Rupert's Land appeared. It is difficult to say whether the limited geographical scope of women's published travel writing occurs because publishers saw no profit in producing women's writing about these regions, or because the women themselves resisted such an entrance to the public sphere. Because my project focusses, not only on where women actually travelled, but also on how and in what historical context they represented their travels to a

public audience, I will be dealing primarily with narratives intended for publication, and situating them historically in terms of their dates of publication, as well as the dates of the writer's travels. See Kathryn Carter's annotated bibliography of Canadian women's diaries, which identifies many unpublished travel diaries among those it lists.

6. *The History of Emily Montague* (1769) by Frances Brooke is often considered the earliest travel text by a woman writer in the Canadian tradition. An epistolary novel, it incorporates details of travel in Upper and Lower Canada into the fictional romantic adventures of the characters; her characters' descriptions of winter Society in Quebec (103, 110-12) for instance, or the "two very noble falls of water near Quebec, la Chaudiere and Montmorenci" (29), are almost indistinguishable from similar accounts in first-person travel narratives by other writers. The generic links between travel literature and the development of the English novel have been ably explored by Percy Adams (*Travel Literature*), and Brooke's was only one of many novels that exploited the genre not only for fictional use, to provide narrative structure and to delineate individual characters according to their response to the tourism experience, but also for its great appeal as the one of the best-selling genres of the century (Batten 1). Among the more famous contemporaneous examples is *Humphry Clinker* (1769) by Tobias Smollett. Later examples of similar texts which incorporate large amounts of travel material into fiction set in Canada include *Marjorie's Canadian Winter* (1893) by Agnes Maule Machar, *Canadian Born* (1910) by Mary Ward, and *Canadian Camp Life* (1900), *Among the People of British Columbia, Red, White, Yellow and Brown* (1903), and *In the Pathless West* (1904) by Frances Herring.

7. The material conditions of publishing in Canada discouraged the Canadian publication of woman's travel narratives in the pre-Confederation period. Most women's narratives of settlement and emigration were published in England, and were therefore catering to a market of emigrants, rather than to possible British North Americans considering migration to newly-opened settlement frontiers. I therefore refer, in this chapter, primarily to literature of emigration rather than migration. In the post-Confederation period of western expansion, however, women's writing about settlement experiences often circulated to readers in both Britain and Canada, that is, to prospective emigrants and migrants.

8. In an article comparing Moodie's writings with Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832), Janet Giltrow foregrounds many of the shared characteristics of narratives of emigration and those of travel, including the fact that both narratives tend to be characterized by an address back to the traveller/emigrant/migrant's place of origin (131-32). The two forms are certainly very similar. However, as Giltrow repeatedly acknowledges in her

analysis of Moodie's *Roughing It*, the dramatic tension in the narrative of emigration lies precisely in the fact that Moodie is *not* a traveller, and her narrative is shaped by a different experience (133, 134, 142).

9. Almost all women travellers in the Canadas visited Niagara Falls in the pre-Confederation era. By the early decades of the nineteenth century responses were already inflected by the reports of previous travellers, and a tourism industry was well established. See Jasen, chapter two, and Rob Shields, chapter three, for analyses of the role the falls played in nineteenth-century travel in North America.

10. Foster outlines the usual traveller's itinerary:

> . . . travellers usually started from Halifax, Nova Scotia, or New York, and took in the major eastern and southern cities including Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Charleston and New Orleans, then turned northwards via the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to Cincinnati and back across to Buffalo and Niagara, returning through New York State; some made a detour to see Chicago, Detroit and the Great Lakes, as well as parts of eastern Canada. It was, however, still [in the first half of the century] relatively unusual for women tourists to go there . . . . (71-72)

11. This less formal travel narrative was published the year after Martineau's sociological investigation, *Society in America*. Both were based on her 1836 journey to America, but the rigorous study of American society does not include her short visit to British North America; British colonial society is simply beside the point.

12. This pattern continues even as women's travel writing about Canada diversifies after Confederation. The 'civilizing mission' associated with middle- and upper-class women's role in the public sphere manifested itself in a philanthropic vector which gave women travellers the authority to visit, evaluate, and report upon hospitals, asylums, schools, missions, and other public institutions. It could be further expanded to include ethnographic commentary on non-English peoples.

13. In fact, these early descriptions of American society owe more to each other than to the immense popularity and influence of de Tocqueville's narrative: Trollope initially came to America to visit Wright, who had established an experimental community at Nashoba, Tennessee, and Frawley has suggested that Harriet Martineau was motivated to write about America in part by a concern "to rescue the ideal of the English woman traveler from the hands of an angry American public resentful of the treatment it had received from Trollope, among others" (172). Jameson came to Canada to provide a context of domestic and spousal support for her husband, who was in 1836 the

attorney general of Upper Canada. However, Jameson was also a friend of Harriet Martineau, and her narrative must be read as one of several produced by a group of women who were aware of each other's work.

14. In the first three decades of the century, the trans-Atlantic crossing was accomplished by sail in an average of thirty days. Steamships were introduced in 1838, and in 1840 the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company (later the Cunard Steamship Company) secured the mail contract and began regular fortnightly service with paddle steamers to New York. Within a decade, mail service ran weekly. Under steam, the length of the voyage between England and Halifax shrank to about ten days, or thirteen between England and Boston or New York (Foster 75). Two narratives describing some of the hazards of ocean travel in the pre-steam years are *Narrative of the Passage of the Pique across the Atlantic* (1837), by Lady Louisa Aylmer, and *Narrative of the Shipwreck and Sufferings of Miss Ann Saunders* (1827). Lady Aylmer retreats to her cabin when the *Pique* is threatened off the coast of Labrador. Ann Saunders' narrative is a sensationalized account which includes starvation and cannibalism before the heroine and the shipwreck's few survivors are returned to New England.

15. Personal travel journals, many of which were later published, abound in this century. Elizabeth Simcoe (1792-96), Lousia Durham (1835), Frances Monck (1819-94), and the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava (1872-78) each kept journals during their husbands' political appointments in British North America/Canada. Frances Simpson (1812-1853) and Isobel Finlayson were fur-trade wives who produced journals describing their journeys, in 1830 and 1840 respectively, in Rupert's Land. Although these journals were frequently privately circulated, and were often intended to maintain familial and feminine relationships during the writer's absence from her usual social circles in England (Simcoe, for instance, left her daughters in the care of a friend, and wrote her journal to them), none of these narratives saw publication in the years before Confederation. There may be a variety of reasons for this, including the writer's modesty and her unwillingness to make public comments on the events of her husband's political career; however, given the later publication of their journals by Monck and Dufferin, I believe a contributing factor may simply be that, in the years preceding Confederation, a lady's life in what was conceived to be a colonial backwater was seen, by the writer, the publisher, and perhaps by the public, to be of little interest. Monck's journal was printed privately as *My Canadian Leaves* (1873) before being taken up by a publisher in 1891, at the beginning of the western settlement boom. Dufferin published *My Canadian Journal* (1893) some twenty years after her husband's appointment as Governor-General in Canada, and after the successful publication of *Our Viceregal Life in India: Selections from my Journal, 1884-1888* (1889).

16. Although few other women writers overtly demonstrate the rigour and authority of Harriet Martineau, all of these writers tend to take a stand on the issues made famous, or infamous, by earlier writers: slavery, American manners, and women's position in American society never fail to be mentioned and their place in America evaluated, along with the appeal of tourist sites such as the Mammoth Caves and Niagara Falls. Although many women, like Amelia Murray, sought to distance themselves from controversy and partisanship, they were nonetheless unable to escape the issues which, for the British reader of travel literature, constituted America.

17. In the portion of their bibliography pertaining to publications from the 1860s, Waterston et al. list, among others, three narratives by Henry Youle Hind based on his western and Labrador explorations (114, 120, 123) and one by John Palliser (116), travels in search of sport by James Lamont (118) and Baron Arthur Stanmore (126), four narratives about the Cariboo goldfields (119, 123, 127) and British Columbian emigration (121), and an arctic narrative by Isaac Hayes (131). For more information see Waterston et al 113-32. The time lag between travel and publication doubtless complicates the situation more than I have acknowledged (the western surveys of Hind and Palliser, for instance, were based upon journeys taken in the 1850s). However, I believe that, even taking the time lag into account, my conclusions about the gender and temporal patterns of travel writing about British North America remain tenable.

18. Waterston et al. do not mention Mrs. D. Muter's *Travels and Adventures of an Officer's Wife in India, China, and New Zealand* (1864), a text that was brought to my attention by I.S. MacLaren; this narrative also describes a short trip to Canada.

19. Most of Moodie's fictional works dealt with English characters and settings. *Flora Lyndsay* (1854) treats the emigration of the heroine and her husband; most of the novel describes the emotional and physical preparations for leaving England and the long voyage to North America (tedium en route is relieved by the embedded romance of Noah Cotton), and the novel concludes with the journey up the St. Lawrence River. A number of similarities between Flora Lyndsay's reactions to emigration and Moodie's own self-characterization in *Roughing It in the Bush*, and between Flora's husband and John Dunbar Moodie (including previous military service in South Africa) make it possible to read *Flora Lyndsay* as a prequel to *Roughing It*. The year after *Roughing It* appeared, Moodie published *Life in the Clearings versus the Bush* (1853), which was shaped and marketed as a sequel to *Roughing It*, her better-known narrative of settlement.

20. Several women writers leave the description of Niagara for the end of their narratives, using the fame of the Falls as a tourist attraction, Niagara's appeal for English readers, and the opportunity the site provided to shift their narratives' register to emotional heights, in order to create a textual climax at the most westerly geographical point of their travels.

21. Buss has suggested that *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* has "a marginal but continuing place in Canadian literature, reappearing in scholarly commentary under various generic guises, ones that never quite suit it, and which too often suggest that it is Jameson's text and not the method of classification which is flawed" ("Anna" 42). Of all early women's texts in Canada, Jameson's narrative stands most in need of a sustained critique with attention not only to critical and theoretical reading but also to strategies for teaching.

22. Her publications at this date included *A First or Mother's Dictionary for Children* (1825), *The Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826), *Memoirs of the Loves of the Poets* (1829), *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns* (1831), *Characteristics of Women* (1832), *Memoirs of the Beauties of the Court of Charles II* (1831) and *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad* (1834).

23. Much has been made of the extent to which the biographical circumstances of Jameson's journey to Canada formed her impressions of the country. In 1836, Jameson journeyed to British North America to join her husband, Robert Jameson, who was then attorney general of Upper Canada. The two had lived apart for most of the time since their marriage in 1825 (27, 44), and, according to Anna Jameson's biographer Clara Thomas, the marriage had failed early due to incompatibility. In 1836, however, Robert Jameson had to present the appearance of a stable domestic life, as he was in line for the post of vice chancellor, and his wife had an equally pressing need to have her domestic situation settled. Accordingly, she joined him in Canada in December 1836, and remained with him until he was appointed vice chancellor. She spent the summer of 1837 travelling throughout Upper Canada, and left in the fall for New York, where she remained until legal documents were drawn up formalizing the terms of their separation. The negative depictions of Toronto and its elite society have been attributed by many critics (Thomas, *Love* 98-116; Friewald 66-68; York 49; Sigrist 110) to Jameson's unhappiness in her husband's company as well as to her first experience of a Canadian winter. Her enthusiastic engagement with the landscape and peoples of her summer travels have similarly been linked to her escape from Toronto and her husband. These readings follow Jameson's own characterization of her depression in contemporary letters.

24. The second volume includes a further 29 pages, early in the volume, of extended literary commentary on Sternberg's novels, Friedrich Schiller's drama *Don Carlos*, and other literature.

25. Colonel FitzGibbon was the grandfather of Mary Agnes FitzGibbon (1851-1915), whose narrative *A Trip to Manitoba* (1880) I will discuss in the next chapter. FitzGibbon also wrote a biography of her grandfather, entitled, *A Veteran of 1812* (1895). In it, Jameson's visit to Upper Canada and friendship with Colonel FitzGibbon are briefly described, although the events of 1837 loom much larger in the book.

26. In my reading, I will differentiate between Jameson-the-flesh-and-blood-writer and the narrating 'I' in the text, in order to avoid the kind of transparently biographical reading to which travel literature is so vulnerable. Because many travel texts have been used as primary sources in the writing of history and biography, and because they purport, according to generic conventions, to represent the writer and describe 'real' feelings about 'real' journeys through 'real' places, they are particularly vulnerable to such transparent reading practices. Since Clara Thomas's biographical work has uncovered the letters Jameson wrote from Canada, many critical readings have tended to supplement representations in the text with material and explanations from Jameson's letters. Fundamental to my project in this dissertation is the idea that travel writing is a published literary genre, and is shaped by both the materiality of publication and by the implications of publication in the discourse of gender. I situate my readings of these texts in the biographical circumstances that shaped each travel experience, but I also consider the narrative and its narrator as literary constructions whose meaning lies within the text, rather than in the writer's life.

27. According to Ryder, Jameson's location of 'truth' in personal, emotional response is a result of the influence of German Romanticism; Friewald suggests that it is a feminist strategy.

28. Karen R. Lawrence discusses this fictional tradition of the female wanderer, as written by Margaret Cavendish in "Assaulted and Pursued Chastity" (1656) and by Frances Burney in *The Wanderer; Or, Female Difficulties* (1814), under the category "exilic wanderings," in the first chapter of *Penelope Voyages* (28-73). However, these fictional heroines are unwilling wanderers, and the successful end of their plots is their recuperation into patriarchal family structures (72). More useful for a contextualization of Jameson's texts is Lawrence's reading of Wollstonecraft's *Letters*.

29. In "The Female World of Love and Ritual," Carroll Smith-Rosenberg analyzes early American cultural constructions of romantic friendships between women;

however, her work also offers a context for reading similar relationships in the British and European context.

30. Mary Poovey has noted that, once Wollstonecraft's private correspondence was published and her illicit relationship with Gilbert Imlay became public, the initially positive critical reception of *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* changed to condemnation (*Proper Lady* 256 n12). Although fictionalized travel-narrators, such as those which appear in Wollstonecraft's *Letters* and Jameson's *Diary of an Ennuyée*, were not necessarily always assumed to represent the writer, the imputation of immorality could adversely affect the reception of both book and writer. Because of the genre's investment in 'truth,' there remained a very real tendency to read the events in the travel narrative back upon the writer's own life and character. Accordingly, women travel writers tended to construct their travel-narrators with an eye to their own public reputations.

31. The final date is approximate, as Jameson does not reproduce all dates in her text.

32. Upper- and middle-class travel in this period, when transportation and accommodation were relatively under-developed, depended on a social network which could be accessed by letters of introduction from friends at home, who would direct the traveller to their friends and contacts abroad. This was the pattern of eighteenth-century travel in Europe, until the improvement of inns, roads and coach facilities, and it continued through much of North America, where travel conditions remained contingent on the ability to rent a wagon or cadge a ride from one place to another, and accommodations remained insufficient and unreliable in many places, until late in the nineteenth century. This is perhaps one reason why women's travels remained relatively circumscribed, both in Europe in the early period, and later in Canada: while it might be perfectly acceptable to send a gentleman out with a letter of introduction to a friend who may or may not know he is coming, a lady would require far more certainty of safety, accommodation, and reputable contacts.

33. For the year 1837 alone, Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs* describe the visits of such gentlemen as Dr. Edward Spring, son of the Reverend Gardiner Spring, of New York (559), Captain Marryat (562-63), George Tucker, Professor at the University of Virginia (563), Mr. George P. Marsh, of Vermont (564), Mr. Nathan, "an English traveler, of quiet and pleasing manners" (566), Judge McDonnel, of Detroit, with Captain Clark of St. Clair (568), as well as regular visits from indigenous groups and their leaders, and those associated with the Indian agency, the military, and missionary work. Schoolcraft also describes an extensive personal and professional correspondence relating to both his official capacity as Indian agent and his well-known expertise as an amateur natural historian and ethnographer; Jameson had found a valuable

contact, and her correspondence with Schoolcraft is alluded to in his *Memoirs* until early 1839 (641).

34. The *DCB* identifies the Sault Ste. Marie missionary as William "McMurray" (1810-1894). In 1833, he married Charlotte Johnston (Oge-Buno-Quay), daughter of Susan (Oshaguscodawaqua) and John Johnston; Charlotte Johnston is Jameson's "Mrs. MacMurray" (Ruggle 680). Jameson misspells the name "MacMurray" throughout her text; McMurray's brother-in-law, Henry Schoolcraft, concurs with the *DCB*. I shall use "McMurray." However, to avoid constant repetition, I will not be correcting Jameson's spelling throughout my dissertation.

35. See Buzard for analysis of the importance of regular, systematized transportation infrastructure for making travel available to women (48-68).

36. One weakness of Buzard's study is that although he does pay significant attention to the gendered implications of English travellers' inscriptions of geography (the feminization and sexualization of the southern lands travelled by the male traveller-hero) and to the fictional representations of women as travellers in what he terms the "family-abroad plot" (140-47), his work offers little analysis of how women's non-fictional travel writings engage with the predominantly male-gendered discourse of the European traveller. Frawley's study of Victorian women travellers' constructions of authority, for instance, would suggest that, despite the male-gendered traveller persona inherited from the tradition of the Grand Tour and the post-Romantic, Byronic model of the ideal traveller, Europe in fact offered more scope for the woman writer's self-inscription than other regions may have done. It is a weakness of the body of scholarship thus far produced on travel writing that very few critics (Mary Louise Pratt is an exception) consider both male and female writers and their strategies for inscribing themselves into the gendered discourse of travel.

37. As well as the German Romantics, who receive most of Ryder's and Sigrist's attention, Carlyle, Southey, Coleridge and Shakespeare are also cited in the first volume. Many of these English writers were heavily indebted to the German Romantics.

38. Chapter divisions in the first and facsimile editions of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* are at best merely suggestive, and one might as easily deem them section breaks. At various points, the narrative breaks off, the rest of the page is left blank, and the narrative continues, occasionally with a date or place designation, halfway down the next page. Occasionally there are also quotations of poetry beginning these new sections, and it is these I am designating 'chapter' epigraphs, for the sake of convenience.

39. This list is not exhaustive. Monkman notes that Jameson's allusions to Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, among others, situate her in a tradition of writing about North American native peoples (87). As Monkman has observed, the text also includes in the third volume, paralleling the first volume's reproduction of translations from German literature, three Ojibwa legends and two songs translated by Jane Schoolcraft and Mrs. McMurray (90). Jameson is unable to give the latter the same rigorously critical and informed treatment as the European material, so it cannot be said that the Ojibwa literature is appropriated to the same use of cultural authority and literary precedent as the European tradition; it appears in the text more in the light of ethnographic material than seriously considered art. However, this use of literature to delineate and critique a culture's social structures repeats Jameson's continuing methodology throughout the three volumes of the narrative, as well as in her other writings.

40. For instance, the epigraph from *The Tempest* at the beginning of the section on Manitoulin Island (3: 265) appears in a highly ironic light, given its dream-vision of a golden age banishing all traffic, labour, law, letters, and other appurtenances of capitalist society from an island paradise; after this, Jameson's description of government proposals to settle indigenous peoples on an island unfit for agriculture, her depiction of the orderly performance of treaty payment ceremonies which confirm European domination of the Ojibwa, and her description of the lives of indigenous women (299-312) function not only to represent the society, culture and position of the Ojibwa, but also to reflect ironically back on European poetic nostalgia for a pre-lapsarian natural paradise.

41. In fact, Jameson's reproduction of the North-American-landscape-as-woman trope serves, in this case, to make the wilderness an accommodating ally. The landscape becomes just one of many intimate female friends who facilitate Jameson's travels.

42. Margaret Doody, in her biography of Frances Burney, notes the gendered implications of Burney's *Wanderer*: "Juliet is a Wanderer, like a beggar, like a Romantic poet, or—in a woman's case—like a prostitute" (329). I am indebted to Lawrence for bringing Doody's analysis to my attention.

43. The "you" in the text actually slips between a variety of subject positions, and while it often positions the reader as a sympathetic, feminine confidante, on occasion it also addresses the reader as an interlocutor who needs to be convinced, and thus makes space for a reader who might be considered masculine. Thus, for instance, in discussing the position of women in relation to Samuel Johnson's writings, she asserts in a statement addressed, at least nominally, to Johnson:

> If, in exacting from us more perfection, you do not allow us the higher and nobler nature, you do us not honour, but gross injustice; and if you do allow us the higher nature, and yet regard us as subject and inferior, then the injustice is the greater. There, Doctor, is a dilemma for you. (1: 142)

44. I.S. MacLaren has noted the contrast between Jameson's depiction of the landscape of the upper lakes and the view of contemporary Methodist missionary James Evans ("Exploring Canadian Literature" 88). In the summer of 1838, Evans travelled from Sarnia to Lake Superior. In his field notes, he characterizes the northern wilderness as a "region of moral darkness and spiritual degradation" (7). Evans' characterization of the landscape owes a great deal to his Christian mission. He was hampered by the fact that the fall hunt had drawn the Ojibwa away from his route and from the missions (25). Accordingly, the lack of land with agricultural potential, where converted Ojibwa could be settled and permanently located in Christian communities, becomes, in his field notes, a material manifestation of the moral darkness which characterizes the wilderness. Manitoulin Island is "a poor barren waste" (17), the north shore of Georgian Bay "is a tract of barren rocks" (25) and, while the clear waters of the lake are beautiful, the islands are "almost without exception nothing more than huge rocks covered with moss and stunted pine balsam and white birch and scarcely save affording subsistence to anything save a few partridges and multitudes of mosquitoes" (23). As in the Grey Nuns' narratives which I shall discuss in the next chapter, in Evans' field notes the wilderness is rendered as an inhospitable setting which makes manifest the desperate need for his heroic mission.

45. The material means of travel, as Jameson heads further north into Henry's landscape, is of key importance; her experience of travel on the Canadian shield is that of a passenger. The travail of the travel is accomplished by others, and it is water rather than land travel. The element of timeless delight which pervades Jameson's narrative during this part of the narrative is typical of such travel, as I will pursue further in my discussion of women's travel on the Mackenzie River in Chapter Four.

46. The highly Europeanized representation of Jane Schoolcraft and Mrs. McMurray in Jameson's text can be read in different ways. It is clear, from both Jameson's writing and from Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs*, that there was genuine affection and admiration between the women; also, Jane Schoolcraft was half Irish, had spent some time being educated in Ireland (Armour 357), and was accepted and admired in American society (Schoolcraft 208). Further, she did suffer from impaired health (702). However, the representation of Jane Schoolcraft as a delicate, languishing invalid has ideological implications, as it conforms to English standards of ladylike fragility and beauty. Thus this representation characterizes her in terms which

Jameson's British readers would value. This could be read in terms of a textual political activism, on the part of Jameson, to influence her readership's opinions of mixed-race women in general, and Jane Schoolcraft in particular. Or it could simply be read in terms of Jameson's need to invent indigenous informants whose veracity and accuracy would not be challenged, and who, like herself, can lay claim to the cultural authority of appropriate femininity.

47. In the light of this strategy of repetition, the devotion of substantial space in the narrative's first volume to literary and aesthetic study can be seen to serve a more than thematic purpose. Jameson's search for "a file for the serpent" follows the examples of Lord Byron (1: 173) and Goethe (1: 188). However, if one of the travel genre's purposes is to describe life in travelled regions, then it must be considered that Jameson's *Winter Studies* also have North American precedents when read in the context of her later travels northward. The seasonal pattern into which Jameson casts her sojourn in Canada, withdrawing into a series of intellectual inquiries during the winter, and then proceeding with a more outwardly-directed series of travels and activities interacting with people when summer arrives, parallels the lifestyle described in Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs*. During the winter months at Sault Ste. Marie (U.S.A.) in his early years, or later at Mackinac Island, he occupies himself with the study of Ojibwa, while the summer months are overtaken with duties and travels relating to the Indian agency. Thus, the academic material of the first third of Jameson's narrative is not merely a withdrawal from the unfriendly environment in which Jameson-the-estranged-wife finds herself, but is also a true picture of how the cultured, upper-class European-descended member of North American white society, isolated by the exigencies of duty, spends the socially-barren period of the winter months. Jameson experiences nothing like the literal isolation of a remote Indian Agency after winter freeze-up, but the narrative's rendering of winter life in Toronto includes not only the lengthy passages describing social and intellectual isolation, but also a sense of being physically unable to make contact with the world, as when she notes, "even the metal knobs on the doors of the room I carefully avoid touching—the contact is worse than unpleasant" (1: 171).

CHAPTER TWO

"This howling wilderness": Women in the North-West before 1885

In the previous chapter, I outlined the scope of women's travel writing in the pre-Confederation era, ending with a discussion of the encounter between European culture and North American wilderness in Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*. Anna Jameson and other Englishwomen wrote about their travels in the eastern colonies of British North America; even before women's narratives began to appear, and during the same period as these women were writing and travelling, narratives describing journeys in the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) territory much farther north and west were being published by male fur traders and explorers. In the second part of *Travels and Adventures*, to which Jameson does *not* refer in her narrative of travel to Sault Ste. Marie, Alexander Henry the Elder relates an account of fur-trade activity as far west as the Great Plains. In the same year that Frances Brooke reworked her experiences in Lower Canada into an epistolary novel in *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), Samuel Hearne set out from Hudson Bay on his first attempt to reach the mouth of the Coppermine River (1795). During the decades that followed, Hearne (1795), Alexander Mackenzie (1801), and other explorers became famous by publishing narratives describing expeditions north and west across the continent and into the mainland Arctic. The years of Frances Wright's travels in the United States and Upper Canada (1818-21) overlapped with John Franklin's first overland expedition to the Arctic Ocean (1819-22). While women's pre-Confederation travels were limited to the eastern colonies of British North America, then, the literatures of sport, exploration, and adventure, dominated by male writers, represented the North-West as a space of active male enterprise. As Waterston et al. reveal in *The Travellers*, these narratives far outnumbered those by women.

The first narratives of women's travel in the North-West were not published until the years following Confederation, and only a very few appeared before the railway opened the North-West to tourism and settlement. In this chapter, I will turn my attention to the history of women's presence in the North-West before 1880, to the material conditions that governed women's travels there, and to the textual strategies that the Grey Nuns and early travel writer Mary Agnes FitzGibbon (1851-1915) used in writing about themselves and their travels in a region still understood, in English and Canadian cultures, as wilderness.

Women and the Civilizing Mission in the North-West

By the late nineteenth century, the travel literature written about the North-West was, as I have suggested above, overwhelmingly dominated by male writers. Numerous critics have recognized that, ideologically, the writing of frontier adventure was coded masculine in the English-language tradition: Paul Zweig observes that "the

adventurer is in flight from women" (61), and Martin Green states that "[w]omen have much less often than men been assigned the freedoms of adventure" (18). In her study of fictional inscriptions of "Women in the Wilderness," Heather Murray notes that "the frontier is by definition the place which is far enough away to leave women behind" (77).[1] As the undifferentiated "*wild* Canadian North-West" that was the setting for boys' adventure novels (Moyles and Owram 40-43),[2] or in the more specific geographies of the literatures of exploration, trade, travel and sport, the North-West was portrayed as a space for male agency. Doug Owram has described the prevailing literary image of the North-West as a barren and dangerous wilderness:

> . . . writers often tended to emphasize this image of the country as a wild and savage region. The author who could tell of an heroic struggle against nature or fellow man was naturally thought to be more interesting than those who did not. . . . The cumulative message was clear: to survive in the North West demanded resourcefulness and alertness. It was a harsh, exacting, and often dangerous place. Its climate, peoples, and the way of life it created did nothing to recommend it for the raising of families. (15)

The region therefore offered little imaginative space for conventional women's roles, which were predominantly domestic in this period. Indeed, examples of women's exclusion from imaginative representations of the region and its "heroic struggle[s]" are numerous. In 1869, James Carnegie, Earl of Southesk, described travelling in a sleigh when he fell ill during his journey through the North-West. He found himself too weak to run alongside, and condemned himself as "a sick woman" for failing to live up to the standards of masculine hardihood set on the frontier (Southesk 344).[3] As late as 1883, Sandford Fleming trekked westward over the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) line through the Rocky, Selkirk and Gold mountains, via the Kicking Horse Pass, the newly discovered Rogers Pass, and Eagle Pass. In *England and Canada: A Summer Tour between Old and New Westminster* (1884), when the party arrives on the western side of the divide at the wagon road being built east from Shuswap, the fact that they have indeed won through the wilderness to some semblance of civilization is marked by repeated references to "[o]ur hostess, Mrs. Wright . . . appearing to us with an additional charm as being the first white woman we had seen since we left Morley on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. . . . the only woman of our race within a long distance" (Fleming 308). White women's presence here marks the end of wilderness and the beginning of civilization.

These are only two examples in a body of literature characterized by an ongoing pattern of representation in which the North-West is described in terms of female absence, and the failure of the wilderness hero in terms of feminization. Certainly there are many variations rung on this theme: the explicitly masculine and hierarchical authority embodied by Lieutenant John Franklin of the Royal Navy, leading his men through privation and into starvation on the barrens on his first expedition, creates a vastly different narrative authority than, for instance, that of Samuel Hearne, the sole white man accompanying and supported by Dene during two years of nomadic travels towards the Coppermine River. The heroism of Franklin's

first narrative lies in his unfaltering leadership as well as his survival under conditions that kill so many of his men. Hearne's heroism lies in his endurance and the achievement of the goal as well,[4] but also in his position as the sole representative of civilized virtue among savagery—a depiction reaching a climax with his crisis of sentimental agony over the demise of a young Inuit woman at his feet, during the massacre at Bloody Fall (153-55). However, both versions reproduce a tradition of the wilderness hero that depends on the exclusion and/or objectification of women. By the late nineteenth century, this body of literature as a whole had constructed the North-West as a region where, imaginatively speaking, the absence of white women and the civilized virtues they represented marked a space for male heroism.

Women were not, of course, literally absent from the northwestern part of the continent. However, until the nineteenth century, very few white women had seen the region known, from the 1670 charter of the HBC, as Rupert's Land. Jennifer Brown, in *Strangers in Blood* (1980), cites the brief residence of Mrs. Sergeant, the wife of the Governor of the HBC posts on James Bay, her companion Mrs. Maurice, and a maidservant, from 1683 to 1687. The women were caught up in French-English military conflict, and upon their return to England, the HBC decided that female presence in fur-trade territory only complicated an already complex enterprise; accordingly, the HBC instituted a ban on white women in Rupert's Land. Since the HBC ships offered almost the only transportation into Hudson Bay, the ban was fairly simple to enforce, with only a few exceptions (Brown 10-11). Sylvia Van Kirk, in *"Many Tender Ties"* (1980), relates the story of one of those few recorded exceptions, Isabel Gunn, an Orcadian woman who disguised herself as a boy and joined the HBC in order to follow her lover. Under the name John Fubbister, she arrived at Moose Factory in 1806, and was posted to Albany (Van Kirk 175). On 26 December 1807, at Pembina, she was discovered when she went into labour and requested the assistance of Alexander Henry the Younger (1: 426). She was employed in more traditionally feminine tasks until she was dismissed from the HBC on 14 September 1809, and returned to Orkney (Bolus 25).[5] While other women may well have gained access to northern fur-trade country in a similar manner, they remain anonymous. The HBC's refusal to carry women on its ships resulted in an effective ban on white women's presence in fur-trade country until 1811-12, when the first Selkirk settlers arrived at York Factory, en route to the Red River colony.

Despite the HBC ban on white women's presence, there were of course many women in the Canadian North-West. In their studies of fur-trade society, both Brown and Van Kirk have analyzed the importance of indigenous women and their mixed-blood descendants to the success of the European fur trade. Fur traders, striving to establish trading ties with indigenous tribes, entered into already-existing customs of wife-lending and serial marriage, whereby many North American indigenous societies established kinship ties and reciprocal trade relationships. Many of the women married *à la façon du pays* functioned as guides, interpreters, diplomats and negotiators in the gradual establishment of trading relations between the traders and indigenous communities. In most indigenous cultures in the North-West, women's traditional tasks included making clothes, moccasins, and snowshoes, gathering

berries, fishing, preserving food in the form of pemmican or dried fish, and trapping small animals; these skills were crucial to survival. Although the validity of fur-country marriages was debated for decades in English law, as the wives of white fur traders, indigenous women brought essential skills to their marriages, and thus to the day-to-day survival of the fur trade.

However, as Van Kirk notes, it was precisely because they were members of indigenous cultures that these women were valuable to the fur traders and retained much of their traditional freedom and autonomy (82-86). Their society was that of the fur trade. The male members of fur-trade society did produce an extensive body of literature in English, including correspondence, personal and post journals, and published narratives, as well as related fiction by former fur traders such as R.M. Ballantyne. However, most of this literature was written by the white, high-ranking officers of the fur trade, either in reports to the London Committee of the HBC, or as more general contributions to the literary market catering to an English reading public curious about the outposts of the Empire. The women of fur-trade society, whose status under English social rules was uncertain, who had no official status in the HBC (they were not, for instance, paid regular wages for their labour), and whose education was intended to prepare them to be the wives and mothers of fur-trade employees in North America, had neither the opportunity, nor, in many cases, the ability, to write for an English audience.[6]

There are of course many individual reasons why a woman with education would *not* write publicly about her travel experiences. As much feminist criticism has shown (see Gilbert and Gubar; Poovey, *Proper Lady*) the constraints against women making their voices public were not insignificant in nineteenth-century British society. Nonetheless, there were increasing numbers of highly successful women novelists and travel writers during that period (Frawley 32). Social constraints peculiar to the conditions of North-West may have contributed to women's long public silence about the region, however. For the white women who came to Rupert's Land as fur-trade wives, as for the Grey Nuns who founded missions westward from Red River in the latter half of the century, the very conditions of their presence in the North-West were heavily invested in traditional ideas of women's civilizing mission and their position within patriarchal institutions.

In 1830, Frances Simpson married her cousin, Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the HBC, and travelled west from Montreal to live in Fort Garry. She was not the first white woman in Rupert's Land: Isabel Gunn, Marie-Anne Lajimondière, and the Scottish crofters and Swiss emigrants who settled in the Red River colony had arrived many years earlier. However, she was the first fur trader's wife to be brought out from England to take up residence in fur-trade country, and her arrival marked a change in both the policies of the HBC and a trend in fur-trade society away from mixed-blood marriages and towards the cultural values of England. Much has been made (see Brown, Van Kirk) of Frances Simpson's arrival at Red River, and its significance for the gradual exclusion of indigenous participation in fur-trade society, as the white, middle-class wives of the fur-trade elite began to replace their husbands' indigenous partners, and the mixed-blood marriages that had been the

social and economic basis of fur-trade society became less common. Since only the high-ranking officers of the HBC could afford to bring out their white families, the alignment of race with the already-existing class structures in the company's North American society was reinforced. While there is no doubt that white women were active participants in the reinforcement of English cultural values, standards of behaviour, and class lines (Van Kirk 201-06, 214-18), their identification as "lovely tender exotic[s]" (Douglas 311), representative of all that was 'civilization', was explicitly opposed to the environment, manners, standards, and inhabitants of Rupert's Land (Van Kirk 186-87, 192-93). The white wives of fur traders in the early nineteenth century found themselves confined in an environment that offered a far smaller circle of socially recognizable acquaintances, few social duties, and less of what they would have been accustomed to consider the necessities of life (such as medical care and a varied, nutritious diet), let alone the luxuries and amusements with which they would have been familiar (197-99). The only thing that could make such a sacrifice bearable was the knowledge that they had come in order to bring 'civilization' to the 'uncivilized'; change and adaptation would be made only provisionally and grudgingly. From their point of view, they had sacrificed, for the sake of their husbands and what civilized comfort they could bring them in the wilderness, a support network of family and social ties, and all the conveniences and necessities of a middle-class English life-style. In their new surroundings, everything that constituted their identities depended upon performing the rules of society that marked them as representative of civilization. Their lives were constrained from within, in their own understanding of their positions, and from without, in the social rules imposed by husbands nostalgic for English society and by peers anxious to maintain English standards and social status, which were threatened by fur-trade customs (such as mixed-race marriages). Combined with the time constraints imposed by the difficulties of maintaining English domestic standards in fur-trade country, and the sheer difficulty of communication with the literary world in England, this atmosphere of cultural retrenchment in fur-trade society would have discouraged any public expression of women's experience of the fur trade.

Some women did write, as the letters of Letitia Hargrave and the unpublished journals of Frances Simpson and Isobel Finlayson attest. In 1830, shortly after her marriage to her cousin George Simpson, Governor of the HBC, Simpson and her husband travelled to New York by ship, proceeding north by way of Lake Champlain to Lachine (in Lower Canada), where George Simpson owned a home. After a short stay of only eight days, the Simpsons quickly travelled westward up the Ottawa River by canoe, proceeding by way of the Mattawa River, Lake Nipissing, and the French River to Lake Huron, and then paddling west through the Great Lakes to Fort William (now Thunder Bay). From there they entered the Kaministikwia River, and proceeded through the network of rivers and lakes west of Lake Superior, over the height of land into the Hudson Bay drainage basin, as far west as Fort Garry.[7] After a stay of only a few days they proceeded north by way of Norway House and the Nelson and Hayes rivers to York Factory on Hudson Bay. The entire overland journey from Lachine to York Factory took place between 2 May and 26 June.

Frances Simpson's journal, recounting this experience, is presently held by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. It is a second-stage record of experience,[8] written up from field notes once she arrived at York Factory, and dated 25 August 1830 (Simpson 161).

Neither Simpson's journal nor that of her sister Isobel Finlayson has, to date, been published in its entirety, although parts of both have been reproduced in the *Beaver*, and Simpson's journal is excerpted in Germaine Warkentin's anthology, *Canadian Exploration Literature* (1993). Finlayson's journal is directed to the "dear domestic circle" left behind in England (185). Like that of Elizabeth Simcoe, which was sent in portions to her daughters in England during her husband's tenure as lieutenant governor of Upper Canada (1792-96), the journals of fur-trade wives were at least partly written as a means of maintaining those social links among women that constituted feminine society and mutual support in the early nineteenth century—social links that had been attenuated by removal to the North-West, and whose loss was among the privations white women in the North had to bear. Helen Buss has noted the intertextual similarities in structure and expression between Finlayson's journal and that of her sister, suggesting not only that Finlayson was familiar with Simpson's journal of her experience, but in fact that she took it as an influential model when describing her own ("Dear Domestic Circle" 16). These were not, then, completely *private* documents in the meaning of that term in the late twentieth century. Nonetheless, they did not take part in the public discourse of the North-West in the same influential way that published exploration and fur-trade writings by male writers did.[9]

Besides the women who travelled west as fur-trade wives and those who made up the settlers at Red River, there was one other significant group of white women in the North-West by the mid-nineteenth century: the Sœurs de charité de Montréal, or Grey Nuns. Beginning in 1844, the Grey Nuns joined the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (omi) in their mission work at the Red River settlement (St. Boniface). A nursing order, the Grey Nuns spread west and north over the next several decades, opening missionary schools and hospitals in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta at Lac Ste. Anne, St. Albert, Ile à la Crosse, and Lac la Biche between 1859 and 1862. In 1867, they joined the Oblates at the mission they had opened at Fort Providence, on Great Slave Lake, six years earlier. Over the following fifty-eight years, the Grey Nuns established schools and hospitals throughout the Mackenzie Basin (Duchaussois, *Grey Nuns*).

The Grey Nuns of the missions and hospitals of the North-West were educated women, with not only the ability to write but also the duty to submit reports to the Mother House in Montreal by every available mail (although, in the early years, there might be only one or two opportunities annually). Some of this material was reproduced in the *Annales des Sœurs de charité de Montréal*, the Grey Nuns' in-house publication. An excerpt from Sœur Marie Josephe-Adeline Audet LaPointe's narrative of her 1867 journey to Fort Providence was translated into English and reproduced in both languages in Pierre Duchaussois' history of the Grey Nuns, published in 1919: *The Grey Nuns in the Far North* (92-117) and *Les Sœurs grises*

dans l'extrême-nord du Canada (84-109). Other published travel narratives by the Grey Nuns include an appeal for financial support made by an anonymous "Sister of Charity of Montreal," in a pamphlet, entitled *Notes and Sketches Collected from a Voyage in the North West* (1875), which describes her journey to conduct fellow nuns to the mission at Fort Chipewyan; she travelled no farther north, although the mission at Fort Providence was by this time twelve years old. Mère Marie-Anne Piché produced a small book, *De Montréal à MacKenzie: Notes de voyage, avril-octobre 1912*, which described (in French) her 1912 tour of inspection.[10] Like the women who were Church of England mission workers in residence in the North, whom I shall briefly discuss in Chapter Four, the Grey Nuns of the North-West did not publish material about their travels to and in the region while they were resident there. Distance, isolation, the primary work of the missions, and the institutional authority that structured their presence in the region all seem, in the case of both churches, to have precluded the publication of travel literature by the women of the missions until the mid-twentieth century. Nonetheless, some generalizations about the framework that mission work offered for women's travel in the North can be made from the writings of two Grey Nuns, Sœur Lapointe and the anonymous Sister of Charity of Montreal who recorded *Notes and Sketches Collected from a Voyage in the North West*.

The Grey Nuns were founded in eighteenth-century New France by Marguerite d'Youville as a nursing order. By the late nineteenth century, they were also running day-care centres for working mothers, boarding homes for the aged, and schools for the blind and deaf as well as for the Catholic children of French Canada; their western missions functioned as boarding schools, hospitals and orphanages. Consisting predominantly of French Canadian Catholic women, the Grey Nuns were not subject to the same cultural definitions of womanhood that discursively positioned the English-speaking travellers I consider in the rest of this dissertation. Jan Noel has described the long tradition of women's active participation in the economic and political life of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New France under the *ancien régime*. However, she also acknowledges that the women of Lower Canada were increasingly subject, in the nineteenth century, to the constraints of a middle-class ideology that stressed their domestic responsibilities; in the period following the Conquest, the gender imbalances which encouraged women's relative independence in Quebec society disappeared, economic and upper-class life came to be dominated by English-speaking interests, and the development of an industrial economy resulted in an ideological separation of domestic and public space (23). The Catholic religious orders offered women an active social role outside of the domestic space of the home; at the same time, however, in the atmosphere of religious retrenchment that followed the Conquest, the religious orders remained increasingly subject to the Church hierarchy. Marta Danylewycz has described the importance of the nun-lay woman relationship to the woman's movement in early twentieth-century Montreal, but she also acknowledges that Quebec society's reliance on the social service of nuns tended, in the final instance, to support the status of the Church rather than the status of women (142-43). The social mission that characterized much of the activity of the

early twentieth-century women's movement was not incompatable with the service ethic of active religious orders, and, ultimately contained within the patriarchal hierarchy of the Church, the powerful women who lent their lives to active service did not, ultimately, challenge conventional constructions of womanhood. The Grey Nuns, for instance, came to the North-West in order to do work that was traditionally appropriate for European cultures' constructions of woman as nurturer: they were nurses, teachers, and civilizers in the name of Christ.

The two narratives that I have chosen to discuss here both appeared in English during the period under discussion, and thus formed part of the English-language body of texts representing women's travels in Canada. In these two narratives, Christianity offers the Grey Nuns a framework in which the North-West's status as 'wilderness' is a state to be endured and, ultimately, cured, by their work. By means of this construction, they characterize their presence there in terms of self-sacrifice in order to convert its—in their understanding—wretched inhabitants to Christianity and civilization.

In 1867, six nuns established St. Joseph's Hospital at Fort Providence; Sœurs Lapointe, Brunelle, Michon, Saint-Michel des Saints, and Elizabeth Ward, accompanied by Franciscan tertiary Marie-Domithilde Letendre, travelled from Montreal to St. Paul by train, and then by Red River cart (ox-cart) to St. Boniface, where they spent the winter. They left St. Boniface on 8 June 1867 with Père Lacombe and Père Leduc, under whose protection they travelled westward, again by Red River cart, through Portage-la-Prairie, Qu'Appelle, Carlton, and Fort Pitt. They arrived at Lac La Biche on 31 July, whence Bishop Faraud was to lead them north to Fort Providence. They travelled by barge, portaging around rapids, to Fort Chipewyan. After a brief stay, they proceeded north to Great Slave Lake and Fort Providence.

Writing of her 1867 journey to Fort Providence, Sœur Lapointe portrays all the hardship of western travel as part of the sacrifice made by the nuns, as they leave the Mother House in Montreal and the sisterhood of their community for isolation and travail in the service of "Celui pour qui seul nous sacrifions" (qtd in Duchaussois, *Sœurs grises* 85)—"He for whom we make these sacrifices" (qtd in Duchaussois, *Grey Nuns* 94).[11] Sœur Lapointe's depictions of herself as traveller and writer always emphasize weakness: her "feeble voice" gives thanks to God (94), the physical travail of the journey leaves them repeatedly exhausted, and, as Sœur supérieur, Lapointe repeatedly expresses worries about the stamina of the weakest members of her group.

As a testing-ground for the nuns' vocation, the landscape of their journey is "wild and desolate" (94) ("ces desarts" [86] in the French original). In this wilderness, any beauty or ease is temporary, and often deceptive. When the sisters leave St. Boniface, they travel through fifteen consecutive days of rain, but they comfort themselves with the thought that this will be the worst of the journey:

> Nous croyions avec quelque apparence de raison que nous mangions notre mauvais pain en partant et que ce qui viendrait après ne nous offrirait que plaisir et bonheur. Nous aimions à nous représenter de vastes prairies ondulées comme les vagues de la mer, partout émaillées

> de fleurs, dont nous espérions savourer les fruits avant la fin du voyage, car le trajet était long. Cruelle déception. La pluie ne nous quitta pas. . . . Cela étant, ai-je besoin de vous dire combien pénible était la marche, combien triste était le repos? Souvent nous arrivions le soir pour passer la nuit dans un bas-fond marécageux, ayant a préparer nos lits sur la terre nue. (85)[12]

This movement from initial visions—real or imaginary—of pastoral beauty to the hardship and toil of wilderness travel is repeated as the journey progresses. The rhetorical device serves thematically to repeat the nuns' own movement from the community of sisters at the Mother House in Montreal, which has grown increasingly idyllic in memory, to their isolated northern destination. Thus, leaving Lac la Biche in barges, Sœur Lapointe describes the journey as a gentle outing on a beautiful day:

> Tant que nous n'eûmes à voguer que sur le lac La Biche et les petites rivières qui en découlent, nous prenions un plaisir charmant à sillonner ces eaux claires et limpides, et nous comprenions difficilement, faute d'expérience, qu'on pût se mettre en peine pour l'avenir. La paix, la tranquillité ne furent pas de longue durée. Dès la première nuit, nous eûmes une pluie battante. (92)[13]

The description of travel on "eaux claires et limpides" is immediately undercut in this paragraph, and the beautiful vista is deluged by rain, followed the next day by the ordeal of their first portage. The sisters follow Bishop Faraud through the woods, marching six miles in the hot sun over rough terrain in heavy wool skirts dampened by the wet foliage. The same pattern of deceptive ease giving way to physical travail, fear, and danger is repeated when they reach the Athabasca: after alternately being tracked up shallow rapids and walking along the shore for three days,

> . . . enfin pour le moment nous jouissions sans arrière-pensée des plaisirs innocents et permis que font éprover à l'âme des spectacles grandioses de la nature. Cette rivière rapide nous entraînait comme par enchantement, tout en nous donnant le temps de repaître nos regards des sites pittoresques et variés que les nombreux détours présentent sans cesse. C'était trop de bonheur, pour attendre qu'il durât longtemps. (98)[14]

Again, the narrative moves from the natural beauty of the landscape to the hardships which must be endured, and which are growing progressively more difficult, from the rain and mud of prairie camps, to the physical difficulty of walking cross-country in nuns' habits, to this portage at Grand Rapids, where, after a precarious landing on the island above the rapid, the nuns are harnessed to help track the barge around the island, and then must shoot the rapids below it.

The pattern continues. After three days' rest at Fort Chipewyan, they continue north on the Slave River, "comme dans un nouveau monde. Plus de rochers, plus de rives escarpées; mais une masse d'eau presque aussi considérable que le Saint-Laurent, coulant à pleins bords et sans bruit, à travers des forêts de grands arbres. Les journées paraissaient bien courtes, au milieu de cette magnificence" (105).[15] Shortly thereafter they approach the rapids above Fort Smith, which again fill them

with trepidation. Thanks to the skills of the boatmen, they pass the rapids and proceed northward to a rough crossing of Great Slave Lake, and, finally, to Fort Providence: "la terre étrangère désirée, devenue notre patrie, notre chez-nous, notre tombeau!" (108).[16] Always, the initial sense of welcome is followed inevitably by sacrifice and a darker vision, rationalized by the Christian framework of the journey: "les sacrifices y sont nombreux; mais c'est ce que nous sommes venues chercher" (109).[17] Although Sœur Lapointe's narrative describes her travels west rather than her residence at Fort Providence, the description of her journey is shaped by the anticipation of future hardship and sacrifice. The journey is only the first of many sacrifices that will be made in this new home, and the anticipation of the tomb casts the entire life's work of education and healing, culminating in death, as a repetition of Christ's life.

This theme of sacrifice continues throughout the writings of Grey Nuns who only travelled in the North-West, rather than undertaking long-term mission service there. The anonymous narrator of *Notes and Sketches Collected from a Voyage in the North-West*, describes the day of departure from the Mother House in Montreal as "[t]he great day of sacrifice" (5), ameliorated in her case only by the prospect of return in two years. As a charitable appeal, the pamphlet alternates between descriptions of the quality of work being done in the missions to reproduce Euro-Canadian civilization in the North-West, and lamentations for both the sacrifices of the mission sisters and also for the limits that the lack of resources places upon their work. The reader, with the travelling narrator who is escorting the mission sisters to their new homes, is thus positioned as a guilty witness to the terrible exile to be endured by those who will remain in the North-West: they have given their life's work; can the reader do less than give money?

There is comparatively little description of the actual travel experience in this short narrative: the narrator and her charges leave Montreal by train on 24 April and arrive in St. Boniface (Winnipeg) "[o]n the 12th" of May, presumably at this date (1871) having travelled though the United States by rail and down the Red River by steamer, although the narrative provides no details of the route. After a short description of the Grey Nuns' work in St. Boniface, the narrator departs by Red River cart for Ile à la Crosse on 16 June, arriving on 26 August. Again, there is no description of the travel experience, such as Sœur Lapointe provides. In Sœur Lapointe's narrative the hardship of travel becomes part of the sacrifice being made for the sake of the nuns' vocations; in this fund-raising pamphlet, the focus is narrowed to the work of the mission sisters rather than the experiences of the traveller. After describing the schools, medical services, and orphan asylums provided at the various missions, the narrator finally relates an experience of winter travel, on a journey from Lac la Biche to St. Albert from 16 to 25 November. Only on her journey homeward, in the last quarter of the narrative (16-21), does her text refer to the hardship and discomfort of travel by Red River cart; in contrast, this theme dominates the early portion of Sœur Lapointe's narrative. The reader receives only the slightest glimpse of the narrator herself as a wilderness traveller, in her assertion that her party of winter travellers retires for the night, "renewing our

confidence in the providence of God, trying to control our imagination and prevent it from dwelling on the thoughts of wolves, &c, fears from which I was fortunately exempt" (16), and in her description of crossing a river in early spring, "managing my own horse" (19). Only briefly, in these passages, does there appear a sense of the narrator as an active woman traveller with some awareness of her own strength and skills.

Notes and Sketches thus acknowledges the exotic experience of winter travel, the means by which life is preserved under such hostile conditions (14-16) and the "perils and difficulties without number" (18) that attend spring travel by Red River cart; however, its primary appeal lies in the reiteration of the "numberless privations" (17) in the "life of sacrifice" endured by the "poor exiles" (18) who work at the missions. Anecdote after anecdote describes a child saved from starvation, an injured trapper or hunter's life-threatening wound healed, or other lives saved through the charity, medical care, and education offered by the Grey Nuns. Their work is explicitly rendered as the reproduction of the culture of eastern Canada, with an emphasis on the transformation of indigenous women's lives as a way of 'civilizing' the race. Their boarding school at St. Boniface is described as an institution equal to those of eastern Canada for reproducing young ladies of appropriately refined femininity:

> Admitted into the first society, they are an honor to their religion and country; they prove an example to their friends, procure the happiness of their husbands, and bring up their children in a Christian manner. Several of these young ladies have consecrated their lives to God by embracing the religious order. (6)

At Ile à la Crosse, the narrator describes "the vast amount of good done by the nuns in the training and instruction of the young" (8), so that they become "in later years, excellent mothers of families, living and bringing up their children with equally as much care and solicitude as do our mothers of families in Canada, neglecting nothing in regard to civilization and religion" (8-9). The narrative constantly repeats the limitations of the missions' resources and thus of the work the nuns can do to redeem "these wild savages" (13) from the fate of "living as beings without reason, ignorant of the truths of their religion" (9).

The ethnocentrism and blatant racism of the narrative are pervasive and need not be belaboured. In the context of early women's travels in the North-West, however, the Grey Nuns' narratives are interesting for their use of women's civilizing mission as a framework, mobilizing the discourses of Christianity and femininity, in which to articulate women's presence in the region. Within this framework, the travail and physical hardship of wilderness travel become part of a holy mission, a mission that is constituted by hardships and deprivations undertaken in the name of Christ; in other words, hardship, deprivation and sacrifice are *necessary* because they validate the nuns' activity as holy. Sacrifice thus becomes the dominant theme of the journey and of women's lives in the North-West. The disjuncture between the sentimental, civilizing influence of the mission sisters, and the savagery of the

landscape and indigenous peoples, as they are represented in *Notes and Sketches*, confirms the importance of the mission:

> I was the only woman, and never at this season of the year, have they told me, do we see a civilized female travelling over these immense prairies. Here I would strongly dissuade anyone, through simple pleasure, from undertaking the same project, for, I promise, they would bitterly repent it. (14)

The wilderness landscape of the journey, in such contrast with the figure of "a civilized female," validates the mission not as pleasure or recreation, but as holy work. Despite, once again, the hint of satisfaction at the extremes to which her mission leads her, the narrator's constant theme is that of sacrifice and hardship: on her part, the cold, the fear of wolves (15) and other "inconveniences" of travel (14); on the part of the mission sisters, the privation, isolation, and hard work of the missions.[18]

In reality, while they certainly travelled under rougher conditions than many a later travelling lady—no nineteenth-century narrative that I am aware of describes women participating in the work of tracking and portaging, as Sœur Lapointe relates—the Grey Nuns were carefully handed from bishop to bishop as they proceeded across the North-West. Sœur Lapointe's hagiographic depiction of each priest and bishop whom they encounter—an introduction to the missionary figures of the North-West in the 1860s—might obscure the fact that the nuns are shepherded to their mission by a succession of male church leaders. Once there, they undertake the work that they have been trained and brought for, remaining in the schools and missions while bishops and archdeacons populate subsequent travellers' texts with their swift journeys from community to community, ministering to their congregations. The Grey Nuns remain where they are placed, and their charges are brought to them.

The material conditions of travel meant that when women travelled West and North of the Great Lakes, they did so under the care of institutions such as the HBC or the Church. There were relatively few white women travellers in the North-West before the 1880s. However, the extreme institutionalization of patriarchal structures in the North-West also limited the publication of women's accounts of western travel. Fur-trade culture invested white women's presence in the region with all the weight of 'civilization', embodied in women such as Simpson and Finlayson. Reluctance on the part of the HBC to publicize the region may have been as important a factor in the lack of women's early published accounts of the fur country as the women's own investment in the maintenance of the private sphere and middle-class English domesticity. The French women who travelled as Grey Nuns found their activities in the North-West equally constrained by institutional demands. Mission work probably precluded the time and energy to write at any length, and those who did write about their experience constructed it in terms of self-sacrifice and deprivation. Only when the construction of the transcontinental railway turned the attention of eastern Canada to the North-West did women writers begin to travel in, and write about, the region in any significant numbers.

Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, "Roughing It" in the Wilderness

When the Grey Nuns opened their mission at St. Boniface in 1844, the imaginative space of the North-West was a space of wilderness, defined by European cultures in terms of female exclusion. As Moyles and Owram's analyses of the literatures of sport and adventure have shown, that imaginative space was reproduced in literature well into the twentieth century. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, as Owram reveals in *Promise of Eden* (1980), the discourse of the North-West—the way English and Anglo-Canadian culture thought and wrote about the region—began to take on other aspects as well. There was a shift in British North American perceptions of the North-West, from a region perceived to be a barren and subarctic wilderness, to a region characterized by a "fertile belt" of arable land. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the last free government land in Ontario was taken up. Settlers in search of land and urban centres in search of resources and potential markets began to look westward. At the same time, the railway-building activity of the 1850s encouraged economic and industrial expansion (despite the uncertain success of individual railway companies), and there was a heady enthusiasm for the prosperity and expansion promised by the advent of rail travel (40-41).

These conditions in the East provided a general audience that, for the first time, was eager to hear and believe in the agricultural potential of the North-West.[19] And once eastern eyes began to look at the North-West in terms of agricultural resources, rather than in terms of an economy based on fur production in the wilderness, the ideas of progress and change came to dominate the discourse of the North-West. The Grey Nuns' western missions, as early as 1844, were founded on the idea that the conversion of the landscape and inhabitants of the region was an inevitable part of the reproduction of Euro-Christian civilization in North America. This idea manifested itself in more material terms as well. In 1884, when Sandford Fleming wrote, in "Practical Observations on the Construction of a Continuous Line of Railway from Canada to the Pacific Ocean on British Territory" (1862), that "half a continent has to be redeemed in part at least from a wild state of nature" (117), he was articulating a Victorian model of human development that united both spiritual and material progress to underwrite the appropriation and transformation of wilderness land into an agricultural territory integrated into the capital economy of the British Empire. It was a world view with roots in a Biblical understanding of nature as 'fallen' and wilderness as the opposite of Jerusalem, the celestial city; human development was seen as an evolution from a primitive hunter-gatherer state to the present condition of civilized industrial capitalism (Meek 2).

When Mary Agnes FitzGibbon travelled to Manitoba in 1876, most of the West's material development lay in the future. However, the new image of the North-West identified by Owram, and its accompanying settlement agenda, offered imaginative space for women's presence on the frontier in their traditional civilizing role as the bearers of culture and makers of homes, partners in the enterprise of western settlement and the spread of Victorian civilization. Women's participation in

the settlement process was perceived to be essential to its success, to the point that when, by the mid-1880s, more homesteaders were failing and leaving the province than were taking up land, both the CPR and the government began to focus on women as a target group for immigration literature (Jackel 31-32, 66-67). Over the next half-century, women's settlement narratives would describe their lives in the Canadian West, as the frontier retreated westward and northward before recurring waves of settlers. By the end of the century, travel narratives devoted explicitly to an investigation of the conditions, opportunities, and prospects for women in the North-West had appeared. These narratives often focussed on middle-class women, emphasizing their cultural role as civilizing agents.[20] While westward migration for women was still, in settlement literature, understood as a sacrifice, that sacrifice was no longer only in the service of one's duty to a husband whose (temporary, it was hoped) employment lay in the wilderness, as it had been for the fur-trade wives, but also in search of a better life for the present and for future generations.

Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, however, was not part of that settlement project. The grand-daughter of Susanna Moodie, FitzGibbon was born in Belleville, Ontario; she was the eldest child of a Toronto barrister and Moodie's second daughter, Agnes. FitzGibbon's father died when she was fourteen, leaving the family in somewhat straitened circumstances (Ballstadt, Hopkins and Peterman 204). After an early unhappy love affair, predating her western travels, FitzGibbon remained single. In 1876, she travelled to Winnipeg, Manitoba, by way of the Great Lakes and the United States, taking the Northern Pacific Railroad from Duluth to the Red River, where she and her party caught a steamer north to Winnipeg.[21] After spending a winter in Winnipeg, she travelled eastward along the Dawson Road to a section of the transcontinental railway line then under construction. She remained on the railway contract for sixteen months, and then returned westward by a combination of canoe and portage travel until her party reached the end of line—the eastward extension of the railway from Winnipeg—and could return to the city on one of the work trains. Shortly thereafter, she returned by way of the Red River and the United States to Montreal. FitzGibbon travelled extensively throughout her life (Ballstadt, Hopkins and Peterman 259-60), wrote occasionally for magazines, edited two of Catharine Parr Traill's later books ("FitzGibbon" 277),[22] and produced two books of her own. *A Trip to Manitoba* (1880), which described her 1876-78 journey, was her first book.[23] She was an active member of the Canadian Institute, and a founding member and secretary-treasurer of the Women's Canadian Historical Society ("FitzGibbon, Miss Mary" 333).

Despite its narrative organization according to the itinerary of FitzGibbon's travels, *A Trip to Manitoba* is a curiously unfocussed account. The reader is offered very little information about the narrator and her travelling companions or about their purpose in the North-West aside from the bare context of railway construction. Although the title declares it the narrative of *A Trip to Manitoba*, the book's geography is imprecise: only the first third of the text concerns the journey to and residence in Manitoba. The subtitle to the Canadian edition, *Roughing It on the Line*, acknowledges the journey to, residence at, and departure from Section 15; but

nowhere does the narrative recognize, as one review in the English periodical *Athenaeum* noted with exasperation (230),[24] that this central episode in the narrative takes place in the District of Keewatin—considerably east of what was, in 1878, the Manitoba border. Further, as a "record/of the rude work done to open a pathway" (vii), the text offers only a circumscribed, fragmented picture of railway construction and the temporary society of workers, company officers, engineers and surveyors, and indigenous people who inhabited the area in the late 1870s. Read as a narrative of the women who come "to accompany and care for" the men on the line (vi), the text is equally frustrating, drawing as it does a veil of privacy over the life of the family with whom the narrator lives. However, these disjointed silences in FitzGibbon's text can be read, in the context of travel writing in the North-West, as a textual manifestation of some of the problems faced by early women travel writers representing their lives in the earliest years of western expansion, where late-nineteenth-century Canadian discourses of wilderness and the North-West confront the exigencies of middle-class femininity.

FitzGibbon was not a settler, but a traveller, and her narrative is structured explicitly by the act of travel (departure, journey, return) rather than by the one-way trajectory of settlement. Nonetheless, the idea of women's domestic mission in the region and the subordination of women's lives to the demands of husbands and families remains a subtext in FitzGibbon's description of the North-West. Thus she prefaces the Canadian edition of her narrative, *A Trip to Manitoba; or, Roughing It on the Line* (1880), with the following description of women's role in the epic nation-building enterprise of the transcontinental railway:

> To plunge into this howling wilderness of wood, lake and rock, interspersed, and not rendered more valuable or romantic, by vast swamps or muskegs, to find a practicable railway route through it and build a line so far away from towns and the comforts of civilization, was a tough task for men. For women still harder, although it was but to accompany and care for them, to repeat in a new form what women have done when "roughing it in the bush"[25] in the now settled parts of Canada forty years ago. (vi)

The gendered prescription of roles in the wilderness is explicit: men build the railway; women, in an auxiliary function, care for the men. Embedded in FitzGibbon's reference to Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* is the understanding that "this howling wilderness" will also, soon, resemble the "now settled parts of Canada"; women's presence in the wilderness in the context of its transformation into a civilized region is thus given both historical and textual precedent. However, the corollary is that women's access to the West is subject, not to the demands of their own projects and interests, but to family duty and to their husbands. As my reading of FitzGibbon's text will show, however, this primary duty to husband and family offers little narrative context for the interests of the single woman traveller on the margins of the family.

The imminent transformation of the wilderness setting of FitzGibbon's journey is further manifested in the text by the context of railway construction. Although the

subtitle of the Canadian edition of her narrative proclaims it an account of "roughing it on the line," FitzGibbon's book devotes relatively little space to any direct experience of the railway or its construction. Rather, her journey takes place in a wilderness about to be transformed. The railway itself, then, functions in her narrative less as the material means of travel than as an absence, an idea of the future. And although both the Prefatory note to the London (Bentley) edition and the Preface to the Canadian (Rose-Belford) edition stress the national context and epic scale of the railway construction, in fact *A Trip to Manitoba* offers only limited glimpses of the railway and the men who built it, or of the lives of the narrator and her companions.

In 1876, when FitzGibbon and her party travelled to Manitoba, there was already considerable public excitement and interest in the transcontinental railway. The Pacific Scandal, over conflicts of interest in election funding and government railway contracts, had led, in 1873, to the fall of Macdonald's Conservative government, which had certainly focussed the nation's attention on the railway project. However, the worldwide depression of the 1870s and the fall of Macdonald's government had conspired to slow the progress of railway construction considerably. The promise made by the Macdonald government in 1871 when British Columbia entered Confederation, to build a transcontinental railway to link the province to eastern Canada, exerted a heavy burden on Mackenzie's Liberal government, which lacked both the funds and the desire to undertake such an extensive project. Macdonald had envisioned immediate construction, with settlement to follow, but Liberal policies favoured a land and water route across the continent, with the railway line being built piecemeal, as the country was settled and the need for transportation would fund construction and maintenance (Berton, *National Dream* 189-90). In 1877, when FitzGibbon and the C—s moved from Winnipeg to their temporary home on Lake Deception, the Liberal government was building the railway as a series of government contracts between the Lakehead and the Red River settlement at Fort Garry, in order to connect Manitoba with eastern Canada. In 1877 and 1878, FitzGibbon resided for sixteen months on Section 15, north of Lake of the Woods. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company would not come into being until early 1881, nearly three years after the Conservatives defeated the Liberal government in 1878, and one year after the publication of FitzGibbon's narrative. Although there was increasing interest in settling in the Red River area during the 1870s, and considerable excitement over the railway construction, even by 1880 it was somewhat optimistic to declare, as the Prefatory note to the Bentley (London) edition of FitzGibbon's book did, that the railway was "now almost an accomplished fact" (v). Nonetheless, in the text FitzGibbon's travels on the Dawson Road outward to the contract and her return by canoe and portage are presented as experiences about to be made obsolete by the new transportation technology.

FitzGibbon's journey is constructed as a movement away from civilization to the frontier, and return. Her party, identified at first only by the plural first-person pronoun, travel on the Grand Trunk Railway to Sarnia, take a lake steamer to Duluth, and board the Northern Pacific Railroad for the journey west as far as the Red River,

where they will catch a steamer to Winnipeg. This outward journey is described as a relatively conventional passage by steamer and railway. The section of travel on the Northern Pacific Railroad, for instance, includes elements familiar to readers of nineteenth-century North American railway travel: a succession of beautiful landscape views (37-38) and character sketches of fellow travellers who offer amusement through their distinctive appearances, quaint manners, or ethnic characters (39).[26] The narrative gradually moves from a luxurious and comfortable journey to rougher, crowded facilities and a bleaker prairie landscape, where the women find that the presence of men among their party provides protection from the presumption of other travellers (40-41). Finally, they arrive at Fisher's Landing, where they transfer to a steamer for the journey north down the Red River to Winnipeg. As the opening act of a narrative that is concerned with the construction of a railway, this section of the text offers FitzGibbon's audience a gradual movement from the luxury of transcontinental steamer and rail service to the rougher conditions on the frontier, until they arrive at Winnipeg.

The narrator, identified in the text as Miss F—, and Mrs. C— remain in Winnipeg for the winter of 1876-77, while a house is prepared for them on the railway contract. In this narrative, life in Winnipeg is split between the immediate experiences of the narrator, which reproduce as much as possible the conventions of a white, middle-class, feminine lifestyle, and more distant descriptions of a frontier community, a "strange place, peopled with a strange variety from all quarters of the globe" (54). Miss F—'s own life in Winnipeg features familiar middle-class social activities: Sunday drives and afternoon walks, morning visits to "old friends whom we had lost sight of for years" (54), charitable fund-raisers, amateur theatricals, *tableaux vivants*, and descriptions of winter Society.[27] The people who share Miss F—'s society remain for the most part anonymous, most designated only by an initial; public figures such as the American Consul, James Wickes Taylor,[28] are the only exceptions. In contrast, the "strange variety" of people, the "[t]all Indians" and "young squaws" (54), Mennonites (57) and Icelanders (58) who mark Winnipeg as a frontier town, are described in conventional ethnographic style as uniform types with stereotyped abilities and potential as farmers or servants. Their ethnicity is characterized by their dress and physical appearance, and by their manners and ability to assimilate. They are the people one goes "to see" in emigrant sheds and ethnic communities (63). The frontier, in this section of the book, thus becomes a colourful backdrop for FitzGibbon's white, middle-class lifestyle, amusing her and her reader with prairie sunsets, colourful immigrant groups, picturesque natives, and second-hand accounts of the vicissitudes of homesteading. I am not arguing here that the social patterns FitzGibbon describes did not exist in 1876. The entrenchment of Victorian social divisions and mores by the fur-trade elite in the years following the establishment of the Selkirk settlement has been ably documented by Brown and Van Kirk, as well as by the witness of earlier western travellers. However, the specific alignment of the narrator's particular lifestyle with conventional white, middle-class activities, and the distancing tactics of her evocation of frontier colour as a backdrop

to her life establish a pattern that prevails throughout the book, a pattern that distances the narrator from the frontier conditions she describes.

By the next spring, the house is ready and the women proceed to the railway contract. The description of the journey from Winnipeg to Lake of the Woods takes on the character of a comic farce, as they attempt to transport the domestic household over the muskegs and corduroy roads of the Dawson Road:[29]

> About six o'clock we came to the high-road, which crossed the end of our track—the high road that has cost our country nearly a million dollars—the far-famed and much-talked-of Dawson road. It was some two feet higher than our rough track, and separated from it by a large mud-puddle, in which, after a lurch to one side and a violent jerk from the horses, the waggon-wheels sunk on the other. A volley of oaths was discharged by our half-breed, followed by a crack of his long whip, and a sharp struggle, and then the near horse fell back on his haunches and we stuck fast. Down rolled the best valise, out sprang Jehu, carrying with him into the mud our biggest blanket. Mr. C—, in slippers, sat on the top of the waggon demanding his boots, which were *somewhere* at the bottom; somebody else was searching wildly for a rope and axe, which proved to be *nowhere*; everybody was giving a different opinion on the best means of extricating ourselves, only uniting in one thing, namely abuse of the driver. . . . We women, meanwhile, tried to quiet the screaming children, and prevent the "unconsidered trifles" which filled the corners of the waggon from falling out—a duty not unattended with danger, as pussy, on guard over her nursery, and excited by the general *bouleversement*, gave a spiteful claw to any foot or hand which approached. . . . (89-90; italics in original)

This description is typical of many travel and emigration/migration narratives treating the vicissitudes of domestic disruption,[30] and is only one of several comedic passages that describe the domestic chaos characterizing the removal to the contract, from the departure scene in Winnipeg (85-88) to the family's arrival at Lake of the Woods (110). The focus in this passage, on the women's specific task to maintain domestic order while the men deal with the questions of transport, reinforces FitzGibbon's suggestion in the Canadian Preface that women's position in the region is "but to accompany and care for" their families. Her description of the transportation conditions emphasizes not only the irregular and difficult wilderness conditions into which the traveller is venturing, but also, on a larger scale, the absurdity of a national transportation system characterized by such conditions, and the adverse circumstances under which railway construction is taking place. The sudden halt in progress at the border, as it were, where the "rough track" of the settlement district meets the "far-famed and much-talked-of Dawson road," the great government project to span the wilderness, bodes ill for the new government project FitzGibbon has come to witness.

After a sixteen-month sojourn in the wilderness, during which railway construction proceeds eastward, the opening movement from the civilized, luxurious

middle-class travel of transcontinental steamer and railway to wilderness farce is reversed: Miss F— leaves the house on the contract, and journeys overland by canoe and portage to the end of the line, where her party joins the work train to ride on an open freight car to Winnipeg, and then retraces her route by steamer and rail to Montreal. However, on the return journey the context of the wilderness travel has changed. If the outward journey over the Dawson road offered the "emigrant-like appearance" of domestic comedy in the wilderness (88), the return journey by canoe and portage takes on the flavour of a camping trip, a release from civilization rather than the failure to maintain its stability:

> "Now we're in camp, away with the frivolities of civilized life," cried Mr. F—, as he took off his collar and necktie and tossed them into his wife's lap. "I'm not going to put those on again until I get to Winnipeg, and fashion demands the sacrifice. . . ."
>
> No ribbons, no bows, no extra adornments, were to be allowed, and next morning, when I appeared with some, I was voted a rebel by the assembled travellers, and in mock politeness offered a stump to sit on, and a knife, fork, and spoon all to myself. (195)

"Roughing it," in this context, preserves the same tone of light, amusing adventure as the domestic disaster described earlier, but, rather than a threat to domestic stability, it appears as a break, a vacation from the middle-class standards of everyday life.[31] Their luggage has been shipped by another route and they have camp servants to paddle and carry the heavy gear. Neither rainstorms, nor muskeg, nor dunkings in the lake spoil the high-spirited mood of the travellers' adventure. Despite its ultimate purpose, which is to return from the contract to Winnipeg, the journey is described in terms of a lark, a junket. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, in his work on the cultural transformation that railway travel brought to Europe, has noted that, as railway technology replaced the coach as the every-day means of transportation, the "economically obsolete old technologies" were transferred to the new realm of leisure and sports; as the nineteenth century progressed, steam came to be seen as unsportsmanlike and pedestrian, while carriage riding became "the amateur sport of the privileged classes" (16-17). I am suggesting that FitzGibbon's representation of the return canoe journey in terms of a leisure amusement presages a similar progression, in the Canadian context. It underlines the fact that this mode of transportation is soon to be superseded by the new technology of the railway. Rather than an heroic exercise in wilderness transportation, camping is now a sport for the middle-classes, an amusement; it has become fun. This is of course a strategy of this specific text, and the wilderness canoe trip can still, in late twentieth-century narratives, be represented as a thrilling, life-threatening adventure with the potential for self-transformation.[32] I would argue, however, that FitzGibbon's characterization of her journey, even in its most dangerous moments, as light adventure is a containment strategy that serves to distance the woman traveller from the threat wilderness poses for middle-class Victorian femininity.

If, as Martin Green has suggested, "[p]layfulness and violence are always the two faces of adventure" (15), then this lady's wilderness adventure leans to the

playful side of the equation, retaining only a soupçon of violence. This violence is usually displaced onto the male figures of the narrative, as when the dangers of the railway construction injure male workers but not the female observers (181). Similarly, the danger of water travel in this text results in the violent deaths of three men (142, 187), but only confirms the steadfast upper-class characters of the narrator and her travelling companion Mrs. F—, who endure a rough lake crossing with courage (225); in contrast, the description of a lower-class female cook's tumble into the lake provides the narrative with comic relief (173). All of the death-defying adventures that Owram (15) and other critics have found characteristic of western travel literature are experienced by others and related at second hand;[33] even a description of insect bites refers to the injuries of one of the engineers (130) rather than to the woman traveller's own experience. Whether trivial or deadly, the dangers that the wilderness inflicts on male adventurers are thus either revised into playful humour or displaced in this construction of a woman's wilderness experience.

This strategy of playful adventure provides a non-threatening description of what is, in the end, travel by canoe and portage, an activity coded for the wilderness. The need for such a textual strategy when relating female wilderness travel becomes evident as the text reveals considerable anxiety about the effects of the journey on the female travellers. The return journey may eventually lead back to eastern Canada, but it is also a departure from the domestic space that the C—s have established on the contract with such difficulty. As the party travels through the wilderness towards the western boundary of Section 15, the gradual return to civilization is marked by the women's repeated anxiety over their appearance, and attempts to efface the marks that wilderness travel has left upon their clothes and bodies. The appearance of Mr. R— on a portage, attired "in a new and spotless suit of Oxford grey, irreproachable collar and cuffs, light-blue neck-tie, and new hat; looking clean, fresh and civilized" (222), provokes them to shake out dresses and straighten hats:

> The scene would have made a good caricature: our travel-tossed party, with draggled skirts and hats shapeless from much drenching rain; the men coatless, collarless, cuffless, with trousers rolled up and hair guiltless of parting; remnants of provisions, dishes, rugs, shawls, and coats littered over the ground,—all in sharp contrast with the perfect type and finished product of civilisation landing from the canoe! (223)

The exclamation mark heightens the tone of the passage, dividing its still-playful tone between the incongruity of the "perfect type and finished product of civilisation" appearing in such a setting, and the narrator's own amusement at her party's bedraggled appearance and immediate, if futile, attempts to spruce up. The amused tone of the passage does not, however, negate the anxiety it expresses. It is the women in the party who make repairs to their appearance and reproach Mr. R—, and it is primarily, though not exclusively, the women who focus on their appearance as they draw closer to Winnipeg.[34] At Ingolf, ties and collars are restored for dining. At Tilford,[35] the narrator laments that "[m]y hands were so muddy that I tried to keep them under the table as much as possible" (235-36). By the time the party reaches Winnipeg, standards have changed so much that they must sneak into town:

> Crossing the river in the clear bright morning among tidy-looking women going to market, and natty men in clean white shirts and well-brushed clothes, made us feel more disreputable than ever. And we *were* disreputable! Our skirts, draggled and muddy half-way to our waists, clinging and wet still; our hair unbrushed, our faces bespattered with mud, and blackened with smoke and dust from the engine and our night's travel . . . while the fatigue and wakeful night gave us a haggard, woebegone, been-out-on-a-spree appearance quite indescribable. (244; italics in original)

The narrator sets off through "the back streets as much as possible" to a friend's house, where the maid refuses to let her enter until she gives her name (244-45). Finally, the family dog attacks her, not recognizing her in her borrowed clothes (245-46), thus emphasizing the extent of the narrator's transformation by her wilderness journey. However comic the tone, the description of their physical appearance as "disreputable" and suggestive of their having "been-out-on-a-spree"[36] foregrounds the moral problem for the woman traveller of the kind of temporary release from conventional middle-class standards that the wilderness journey permits. The connotations of sexual freedom associated with travel in the male upper-class tradition of the Grand Tour were not, as Buzard has acknowledged, easily avoided by later travellers, even by respectable middle-class ladies (130, 152). In FitzGibbon's text, white women fit very uneasily into the North-West, whether they have employment or domestic positions on the line, or are travellers.

Despite this anxiety, or perhaps because of it, a tone of light comedy characterizes most of the wilderness portion of the narrative, and while such a tone is not uncommon in the sketch genre, it also functions here to distance both reader and narrator from the project of railway construction and wilderness life that the text claims, in the Preface to the Canadian edition, to witness. FitzGibbon's "faithful picture . . . of the rough work" (vii) is, in fact, often curiously thin on detail about actual railway construction, and information about the people involved with the railway and how they live is limited to what she can view from the cabin door, so to speak. Thus the narrative describes the living arrangements of the railway workers, who are camped nearby, offering a detailed picture of their mealtimes, from the "long table of rough boards, laid on rudely fashioned trestles," to the food, the implements, the cook, and the manners of the men (126-27). A general description of "the real life of a navvy" lists the ethnic makeup of the men and describes Sunday activities (170-72), but offers little information about their working conditions or the work they do. At the few points where the railway construction actually enters the narrative, it is presented as either a convenience or an entertainment:

> A culvert was being built close to the house, and we took the greatest interest in the proceedings of all concerned—from the oxen, with their tinkling bells, labouring up the steep with the heavy timbers in tow, to the sad-faced contractor and his jovial, good-looking partner. (181)

The process of blasting through the granite of the Canadian Shield is similarly described from the point of view of distant observers who hear the warning horn, see

the men rush away, hear the blast and see the rising smoke (162). At another point, when walking across country to visit friends, Miss F— and her companion make use of a boat belonging to a work party: "Mr. F— took possession of it, and we rowed across, ignoring the fatigue of the poor navvies, who after a hard day's work, would have to walk round the lake to recover their property" (178). The brief glimpse of the men at work "with pulleys, removing great fragments of rock from a cutting" gives way to the beauty of her walk along the woodland trail to Lake Lulu (178-79). The insouciant tone with which Miss F— acknowledges responsibility for the workers' extra fatigue reduces them, and the railway project itself, to the status of a convenience for the lady rambler. The men who work on the railway are similarly marginalized in the text, generally appearing only in short vignettes on the narrator's travels throughout the area, or in tragic episodes related at second hand. Individual railwaymen make brief appearances in the domestic space of the house, characterized, as in FitzGibbon's depiction of Winnipeg life, according to their class: the visits of engineers and surveyors are treated as social occasions alleviating the boredom of bush life; lower-class characters, either railway navvies or wanderers, provide comic relief, such as the "odd apparition" who appears, demands "Mr. K—'s legs," and walks off with the surveyor's tripod (150).

The effect of these brief glimpses of the railway work, and of the narrator's implicit refusal to produce facts and statistics about the railway and its construction, is to shift the focus of life "on the line" away from the national epic of railway construction alluded to in the Preface to the Canadian edition, and towards the narrator's own experiences on the contract. At certain points, in fact, the narrator's interests or immediate desires are explicitly opposed to the railway and the technology that accompanies it. For instance, the telegraph is, in general terms, presented as a means of communication that alleviates the combined deprivation of isolation and irregular mail service; however, in specific incidents it appears in the narrative as a disruptive inconvenience. Operated from their home, it interrupts dinner and alienates the cook (134), provides constant irritation with its incessant chatter (160), and forces the writer to take the children out in all forms of weather, so that the operator can devote his undivided attention to incoming messages (160-61). The narrator is thus throughout the text distanced from the railway workers and the railway project. There is no attempt to flesh out the fragments she has seen with information from other sources, and no sense of the railwaymen, of whatever class, appearing in her text as speaking subjects. Even on the return journey to Winnipeg, part of which consists of a hike along the railway embankment to the end of the line, descriptions are limited to the landscape as it affects their travel; the railway passes by as a sequence of unfinished culverts, slippery ties, and steep embankments, without any attempt to explain what these elements are, how they are constructed, or how they relate to the as-yet-unfinished railway. The return journey to Winnipeg is accomplished at night, on an open freight car that passes through a dark landscape characterized chiefly by cold and discomfort (237-41).

However, if the overall effect of the narrative's light tone and comedic anecdotes, and its fragmented and limited representation of the work on the contract,

shifts the focus away from any coherent representation of railway construction, the text nonetheless provides no detailed account of the lives of the women resident on the railway contract, come "to accompany and care for" the men who build the railway (vi). Despite the Canadian edition's references to *Roughing It in the Bush*, which situate *A Trip to Manitoba* in an established and successfully marketed tradition of women's frontier writing, and despite certain similarities in style and content,[37] FitzGibbon's text is a narrative of travel rather than a narrative of emigration and settlement. Miss F— returns to her home in Toronto at the end of the text; her sojourn "on the line" lasts only sixteen months. *A Trip to Manitoba* is no narrative of ingenious adaptation to the domestic isolation and privation of the backwoods. Rather, Fitzgibbon's narrative persona retains the perspective of á traveller, an observer no more directly involved in women's work on the frontier than in the work of railway construction.

In fact, FitzGibbon's text dismisses the details of establishing the domestic space on their arrival on the contract with the suggestion that "[a] detailed account of how we spent the few weeks would be of little interest" (125). She offers a brief description of the house, the domestic arrangements (they take their meals "at the fort" and a servant cooks for them), and their position in the small community of railway navvies, engineers, and railway "officers" (127); however, domestic adaptation to wilderness conditions is passed over with the blithe assurance that

> . . . it took much longer to arrange and make up the necessary useful and ornamental 'fixings,' as the Yankees call them, for our new house when we were thrown entirely upon our own resources. . . . Time, therefore, never hung heavily upon our hands, and everything about us having the charm of novelty, gave zest to what to many people would have been but a dull life. (128-29)

This refusal to discuss the details of her domestic situation on the contract may, in part, reflect FitzGibbon's own indeterminate position. The precise conditions of Miss F—'s presence in the household, her relationship with the family, and Mr. C—'s position on the contract, are unspecified in the book. She travels to Manitoba and lives with a family designated only by the initial "C—." Miss F— refers to Mrs. C— as her "hostess" (64), but there is no explanation for her presence in the household, or indeed in Manitoba. She twice mentions specific responsibility for the children (155, 160-61), but appears not to be a servant, for she records periods when the household is "without a servant" (64). Thus her apparently marginalized status in the household (as neither a relation nor the mistress of the house), may offer some explanation for the paucity of domestic details in the representation of that household in the narrative. The intimate workings of the domestic space are not FitzGibbon's to relate, as it is neither her house nor her family who would thus be made public.[38]

The lives of other women, glimpsed briefly on Miss F—'s travels to and from the contract, offer little more detail, however, so it is not just FitzGibbon's respect for the lives of her hosts that limits the representation of women's presence on the line. Although they appear only fleetingly in the narrative, there *were* other women on the contract; indeed, FitzGibbon at one point describes a building as "the only

house on the contract *un*inhabited by a woman" (226; my italics). As is common in other wilderness travel narratives of the nineteenth century, however, women are given little space in the text, and although the narrator faces the vicissitudes of her own journey with aplomb, she depicts other women she encounters along her travels as pathetic and wretched sufferers. A maid at the first stopping-place out of Winnipeg is "a down-trodden, stupid-looking girl of fourteen" who, it transpires, works from three a.m. to midnight every day, at the beck and call of her screaming mistress (94-96); the mistress earns some narrative approval for her cheerful energy despite being confined to a wheelchair, and for her solicitude for the narrator (98), but "that wretched Alice" (96) receives little sympathy from either mistress or narrator. At the same stopping-place, they meet a woman with two children, "journeying from Detroit, to work on '15,' to join her brother. She had been a month on the road, and had still another week or ten days of walking before her" (96). Women apparently were hired by the contractors as cooks, but they are only mentioned in passing, and the overall comment on their presence undercuts the value of their contributions:

> Mr. R—. . . . avowed one day that he could manage any number of men, but the "weemin were beyond him." The contractor had tried employing women cooks, believing that they would be more economical than the men; but those he engaged were such a trouble to look after, that he declared "either he or thim weemin would have to leave the line." (172-73)

The narrative thus shows little interest in depicting women as active participants in the work or in the domestic life of the region.

Instead, FitzGibbon's representations of these women highlight the discourses of class and race at work in the narrative. The narrator's own self-construction as a middle-class, spirited woman traveller of character and good taste rests on these discourses, and on the differences between her own behaviour and that of women belonging to other class or racial groups. Thus the maid's fears and complaints on the return journey (213, 234) contrast with the superior stamina and composure of the narrator and Mrs. F—, who endure the rough waves of Falcon Lake and the difficult footing of the railway embankment with courage and good humour (225, 234). The party briefly trades for potatoes in a native village at Falcon River, but FitzGibbon's description of the native women's industry is pejorative, with connotations of acquisitiveness and dishonesty; the rest of the passage focusses on how the indigenous women flirt with their canoemen (200-205), reproducing the sexual anxieties that inform representations of non-white women throughout most travel literature of the European tradition. Only rarely are women described positively. The hospitality of women along the return journey is briefly mentioned (185, 231, 235), but little or no comment is made about their lives, and they are described in terms which suggest their unsuitability for their wilderness surroundings: they include "a delicate-looking woman" (231) and "a pretty, sad-looking woman" (235). Finally, having left behind the rough terrain of the Canadian Shield, on her return to Toronto FitzGibbon relates one final anecdote denoting women's place in the North-West:

> Before the train left St. Paul's we heard the story of a poor little French Canadian woman. She was returning to Quebec from Fort McLeod, eleven hundred miles from Winnipeg, in the North-West territories. She had gone there to settle, but a terrible home-sickness for her own people had impelled her to spend nearly her last shilling in the payment of her passage back. Now she came in great distress to tell of the loss of her pocket-book, containing her tickets, and all she had to buy food and lodging on the way. A generous compatriot said he would see that she was provided for. . . . (262)

Failed as traveller and as wilderness settler, this woman stands with all the others FitzGibbon writes into her narrative, a host of negative examples that highlight the narrator's own light spirits and aplomb. Most, although not all, of these suffering women are situated in the text at a lower class, ethnic, or racial status than the narrator. Their deprivation and suffering become, as the anecdotes and fleeting descriptions accumulate, a testament to women's sacrifice in going into the wilderness. At the same time, and contradictorily, the narrator herself is presented as a light-hearted adventurer, who suffers very little from her wilderness sojourn. As a traveller, she returns to civilization comparatively untouched by her experience.

Rather than hardship and struggle in the wilderness, "roughing it on the line" for Miss F— has been a series of amusing outings, comparable to life in Winnipeg. She explores Lake Deception (130), takes short walks along the line (131), gathers wildflowers and goes fishing (175) and visits other families (179). Her life comprises not work but outdoor picnics and boating parties, punctuated by picturesque landscape views. Like Anna Jameson's, her representation of the wilderness of the Canadian Shield focusses on the beauty of the terrain rather than on her personal conquest of that terrain, but her narrative lacks the political depth and the literary skill of Jameson's engagement with the lives and conditions of the people she meets. Even more than Jameson, whose self-characterization as 'rambler' is as much a political stance as a refusal of linear structure, Miss F—'s chief characteristic is an unwillingness to engage deeply with anything she encounters on her journey. The narrative stance of this traveller thus contrasts sharply with the level of emotional and physical response to the landscape experienced by the settler-narrator of Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush*. The shift in genre allows FitzGibbon to distance her narrator from the landscape; it is an option unavailable to the settler, whose purpose is to transform the landscape.

The difference between the characterization of Miss F— as a light-hearted traveller, and FitzGibbon's depiction of other women's domestic sacrifice in the service of progress, foregrounds the discursive difficulty of the woman travel writer in the wilderness. At issue is not only the problem of gaining physical access *to* the region, but also the problem of representing oneself *in* the region. For lurking behind FitzGibbon's light-hearted description of a journey of beautiful views and picturesque characters are the railway men who die off-stage, that is, the constant reminders of a tradition of frontier adventure and a wilderness experience that FitzGibbon's narrator does not share. The result is a narrative that one reviewer praised in lukewarm terms

for its "capacity for humour and description" (*Rose-Belford* 554) and another suggested might "be advantageously substituted for a novel on a wet day at the seaside" (*Academy* 218). The playfulness that becomes FitzGibbon's strategy for representing femininity in a wilderness setting thus prevents her narrative from actually engaging with that setting, and also prevents her readers from taking it seriously. For other wilderness travellers, such as the Grey Nuns, wilderness travel could be travail. The physical effects of the journey were experienced not as the moral degradation of femininity but as a confirmation and authentication of the sanctity of their mission. However, the discourse of middle-class Anglo-Canadian femininity lacked any such provision for the representation of women in the wilderness, and thus FitzGibbon's narrative is characterized by a combination of textual strategies by which the wildness of wilderness is distanced from the narrator, displaced onto other characters, and transformed into picturesque landscape. Only a few years later, however, completion of the railway would characterize the landscape and the journey through it much differently. The railway provided both men and women with transportation to the North-West, and it shaped their journeys to follow the railway line. It also separated its passengers from direct experience of the terrain. As a result, women travellers no longer sought to distance themselves rhetorically from the landscape; instead, they sought it out, in the shape of wilderness recreation.

Notes

1. Heather Murray opposes this American frontier tradition to a Canadian focus on a feminine "pseudo-wilderness" space of transition between the city and the wilderness. However, Murray limits her discussion to fictional inscriptions of this pseudo-wilderness; in the nineteenth-century literatures describing the North-West, the portrayal of the wilderness has much in common with the American frontier tradition in its exclusion of female subjects and agency.

2. Moyles and Owram note that female characters "barely intruded into the plots" of boys' adventure fiction (49). Although they concentrate on the period following the 1879 founding of the *Boys' Own Paper*, the narrative patterns reproduced in the body of literature they discuss were laid down in the preceding decades.

3. The passage, from 5 January 1860, reads in full:

> [']It grieved me that the men should be exposed to such a storm while I had shelter in the cariole; but I could do nothing to help them, so putting other cares aside I strove to make myself comfortable.
>
> 'Vain task! Though I buried myself head and all in two robes and a blanket, the wind found its way though everything, and I suspect that the master, sitting still in his wraps, suffered more from cold than his men who were running against the bitter hurricane, and suffered besides under the depressing sense of his idle helplessness, while they felt the cheering influences of hardy toil.
>
> 'I hate cariole travelling. It is humiliating to be dragged about in a portable bed, like some sick woman, while the active voyageurs are maintaining their steady run for hours,—for days,—for weeks, I daresay, if you required it—for fatigue seems with them an unknown word.
>
> 'Nevertheless, what must be must, and as, from various causes, I found myself unable to run for more than a few hours at a time, I was obliged to submit to the luxurious degradation that my very soul abhorred. How different from the days, when on my good horse's back I rode rifle in hand, free and confident, equal to any man, and ready for anything! ['] (344-45)

The ability to run with the dogs and keep up with experienced winter travellers is similarly cast as a mark of the pioneering spirit in *Forest, Lake and Prairie* (1895), by John McDougall. McDougall relates the rite-of-passage tale of his first winter trip by dogsled, when he proves himself old enough to travel with his missionary father (85-96). For both Southesk and McDougall, physical stamina and mental will are cast as the attributes of the true male adventurer in the North-West, and they are tested in a winter landscape. Significantly, most women's travel writing in this period describes only summer journeys.

4. Neither explorer found the Northwest Passage, at least on these expeditions, but Hearne reached the mouth of the Coppermine, and Franklin explored some way further along Coronation Gulf. Both thus reached the Arctic Ocean and brought back new information.

5. Van Kirk mentions two other white women who entered fur-trade country in the early period, both by associating with Nor'Westers: Marie-Anne Lajimondière (née Gaboury) married freeman trapper Jean-Baptiste Lajimondière in 1806, and followed him west when he returned to trapping life (177-79); and Jane Barnes, an English barmaid came to the North-West with Donald McTavish in 1813 (202).

6. There were, of course, exceptions to this pattern of women's lives. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, Anna Jameson met Jane Schoolcraft, the mixed-blood daughter of independent fur trader John Johnston, in 1837. Jane Schoolcraft had been partly educated in Ireland, and, in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson praises her ladylike qualities and intellectual ability. Jane Schoolcraft's translations of Ojibwa material and her own writings were, however, subsumed into the publications of her husband: for example, in his *Personal Memoirs* Henry Schoolcraft cites a poem written by his wife after sending her sons off to school (632-33). He also refers to her assistance in his own ethnographic work on the Ojibwa.

7. In 1830, the HBC route west of Lake Superior lay up the Kaministikwia River to Dog Lake, then up Dog River and Jourdain Creek to Coldwater Lake. Prairie Portage led over the height of land to Height of Land Lake, and De Milieu Portage ("Middle" portage, according to Simpson [91]) into Lac Milieu. From there, the Savanne River led through Lac des Mille Lacs, Pickerel Lake, and Lac la Croix, into Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods. The Winnipeg River flowed out of Lake of the Woods to Lake Winnipeg, and canoe brigades made a quick crossing to the mouth of the Red River. The Red River colony lay a short distance up the Red River (Morse 79-95).

8. According to I.S. MacLaren, the literature of travel and exploration typically evolves through several stages before reaching publication: the field notes, log or diary records the day-to-day events during the journey; these are written up at intermittent stages or at the end of the journey as a journal; a draft manuscript may then be fashioned from these documents; and finally the published commodity, subject to the whims of editors and vagaries of the publishing process as well as to the writer's decisions, appears as a book-length narrative. Not all narratives go through each stage of this process, and each stage can involve considerable reshaping of the material ("Samuel Hearne's Accounts" 25).

9. According to MacLaren, by the middle of the nineteenth century few books about the North-West of British North America had been published at all. MacLaren cites the following travel writers as those whose narratives appeared before the publication of George Simpson's book, *Narrative of a journey around the world during the years 1841 and 1842* (1847): Samuel Hearne (1795), George Vancouver (1798), Alexander Mackenzie (1801), Alexander Henry the Elder (1809), Edward Chappell (1817), Thomas McKeevor (1819), Gabriel Franchère (1820), John Franklin (1823 and 1828), John West (1824), Thomas Drummond (1830), Ross Cox (1831), George Back (1836), Richard King (1836), David Douglas (1836), Thomas Simpson (1843), and George Jehosaphat Mountain (1845) ("Touring" 78). To this list may be added Daniel Harmon (1820). The difficulty of transportation into the region, and the HBC's unwillingness to make information about the North-West available to either competitors or those who would challenge its management of the territory doubtless contributed to the relative paucity of narratives by writers of either sex.

10. In 1937, Sœur Léonie Ferland wrote *Un voyage au cercle polaire*, relating her travels to the Mackenzie River missions; she accompanied the then Mother Superior of the order, Rév. Mère Gallant, as secretary. By this point, the journey north could be accomplished by airplane.

11. Sœur Lapointe's narrative would have been part of the body of literature describing the North-West for the English reader, since Duchaussois' excerpts of it appeared in both English and French in 1919. However, I have chosen to quote from the French version of Sœur Lapointe's narrative because she originally wrote in French. I will provide Duchaussois' English translations in the text of my dissertation in the case of short quotations; English translations of the long quotations will appear in footnotes. In order to avoid lengthy parenthetical references, all subsequent quotations from Sœur Lapointe's text will be referenced only by page numbers: the French quotations will be from *Les Sœurs grises dans l'extrême-nord du Canada*, while the English versions will be from Duchaussois' translation in *The Grey Nuns in the Far North*.

12. > We thought that we must be having our worst experiences in the beginning, and that everything would be bright and pleasant later on. We looked forward to the great prairies, undulating like the waves of the sea; we saw in imagination the flowers, and the blossoms, and we thought that the fruits too would be ours before the end of our long journey. Oh, how deceitful is fancy! The rain kept falling every day. . . . What hardship in our going, what little rest in our halts! Many a time we made our beds on the bare ground, on a marshy soil. (93)

13. At first, everything went on beautifully. It was charming to watch our boat ploughing the limpid waters of Lac la Biche, and the little rivers which flow out of it, and it was hard to understand any anxiety about the rest of the voyage. At night came the rain . . . (99-100)

14. . . . we were able at first to enjoy the innocent pleasure of feasting our eyes upon scenery truly grandiose. The fast-running Athabaska [sic] carried us along towards the north, as if by enchantment, whilst giving us time to admire the picturesque and varied spectacles which every turn of the river presented. It was a pleasure too great to last. (105)

15. . . .we seemed to have entered a new world. No more steep and rocky banks, but a river, almost as broad as the Saint Lawrence, flowing silently through wide-spreading prairies, bordered by forest trees. The days seemed short amid scenes of such magnificence. (112)

16. "[A] strange, though longed-for, land in our new country, our home, our tomb" (116).

17. "There are, in truth, many sacrifices to be made. But it was in order to make them that we came here" (116).

18. Interestingly, the narrative written by Mère Marie-Anne Piché, describing her 1912 tour of inspection to the northern missions, repeats this discourse of sacrifice and isolation when describing the poverty and "l'esprit de sacrifice" (27) which characterize the lives of the mission sisters she visits. In *De Montréal à MacKenzie* (1912), Mère Piché describes her own journey, by HBC barge and steamer, as one of uncertainty and deprivation, although the tone of her narrative is cheerful, even occasionally delighted, by the experience. Her own "sacrifice" lies only in the nuns' occasional exclusion from the sacraments, since they are travelling without a priest between the missions; however, this lack of male escort also results in considerable uncertainty about the conduct of their guides and the crew of the barges. Outside the civilizing influence of the priests and missions, the wilderness landscape and its inhabitants remain uncertain and threatening.

19. Owram notes that previous evaluations of the North-West had reflected the northern orientation of fur-trade activity (north of the prairies, in the fur-bearing regions) as well as interest in the North-West passage; these travellers had presumed an economy based on wilderness, a region to be won through or mined of its resources. After 1857, travellers entered the region asking questions presuming a future of settlement and commerce, and the scientific expeditions of Palliser and Hind travelled through the southern regions, the prairies, which had formerly been perceived as barren due to the lack of trees (64-65).

20. Among these texts are Marion Cran's *A Woman in Canada* (1910), Ella Sykes' *A Home-Help in Canada* (1912), Georgina Binnie-Clark's *Wheat and Woman* (1914), Emily Weaver's *Canada and the British Emigrant* (1914), and Elizabeth Mitchell's *In Western Canada Before the War* (1915). Jessie Saxby also addressed the question of women's work and opportunities in western Canada, in *West-Nor'-West* (1890), and most travel narratives by women described the lives of the women they met in the North-West, their work, hardships and opportunities. See Jackel, *A Flannel Shirt and Liberty*, for an analysis of this tradition.

21. As I discuss later in this chapter, FitzGibbon's book offers no explanation or motive for her travels.

22. *Pearls and Pebbles; or, Notes of an Old Naturalist* (1894) and *Cot and Cradle Stories* (1895).

23. Her books were *A Trip to Manitoba* (1880) and *A Veteran of 1812* (1895); the latter is a biography of her paternal grandfather, Colonel James FitzGibbon. She also published, with Sara Mickle, *The Cabot Calendar: 1497-1897* (1897).

24. Reviews cited in this dissertation will appear alphabetically in the Works Cited under the name of the reviewer, or, if no author is given, under the title of the review. Untitled, anonymous reviews are listed in the Works Cited alphabetically by the title of the book being reviewed. This review, for instance, would appear in alphabetical order under the title of the book, *A Trip to Manitoba*; the entry begins "Rev. of *A Trip to Manitoba*. . . ."

25. Fitzgibbon's allusion to Susanna Moodie's well-known narrative of settlement is deliberate: FitzGibbon was Moodie's "favourite" grand-daughter (Ballstadt, Hopkins and Peterman 204) and made prolonged visits to her grandparents when she was growing up. Both Moodie and her sister, Catharine Parr Traill, whose later works FitzGibbon edited, were available as models for her own writing. Further, FitzGibbon's Canadian publisher, George Maclean Rose (1829-98), had published the first Canadian edition of *Roughing It in the Bush* (1871), to considerable success, only nine years before the publication of *A Trip to Manitoba*. Rose was a partner in both Hunter, Rose and Rose-Belford. He emigrated from England to Montreal in 1851, and, after a series of jobs in publishing became manager of Samuel Thompson's *British Colonist* in Toronto. The firm was reorganized as a partnership between Rose and Robert Hunter, the chief accountant, when it encountered financial difficulties. During the 1870s, Hunter, Rose published Canadian editions of British works by several authors, including Bulwer-Lytton and Wilkie Collins, as well as Moodie. After Hunter died in 1877, Rose's brother Daniel joined the firm. Rose also entered into a brief partnership with the Belford Brothers in 1877-78, and during the 1880s Rose-Belford continued to issue imprints jointly in

Toronto and Chicago even after the Belfords moved to the United States (Parker 176). *A Trip to Manitoba* appeared under the Rose-Belford imprint; although no archival evidence has yet come to light, it is likely that FitzGibbon brought her first manuscript to Rose because she knew him as her grandmother's publisher.

26. Percy Adams, in *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (1983), discusses the similar literary technique of using coach travel to introduce characters and dramatic incidents among the passengers in both travel narratives and in fiction; Adams cites several references to the sexual adventures or propositions to which women in particular are vulnerable when riding in a coach (214-23). Wolfgang Schivelbusch, in *The Railway Journey* (1977), his analysis of the effects of railway travel on European culture, suggests that the interactions and relationships made possible by the coach journey were in fact avoided in the context of first-class railway travel, where the accessibility of mass transportation led to rising class anxieties and the avoidance of contact with other passengers; the practice of reading while travelling by train, Schivelbusch states, developed in part as a tactic to keep other passengers at bay (69). However, Schivelbusch's analysis refers to rail travel in the first-class compartment of the European and English train, and the open car of North American railway travel may have prompted fewer anxieties about interaction in such a public space. In any case, the historical experience and anxieties Schivelbusch describes did not necessarily translate into the same kind of avoidance tactics in *representations* of railway travellers in literature. For writers of fiction and of travel narratives, the train became a useful setting for throwing disparate characters together under unusual circumstances, and for revealing human folly.

27. Descriptions of winter Society constitute one of the staple elements of Canadian travel literature, dating back to the social amusements described by the heroine of Frances Brooke's *The History of Emily Montague* (1769) (see, for example, Arabella Fermor's description of Quebec winter society [98], her delight in a "carriolling party" [101-02], and her descriptions of New Years' visiting [103-04]). The ease of transportation in winter and the seasonal hiatus in farm work combined with the novelty of winter sports and outdoor parties, as well as the local colour provided by French Canada's traditional New Year celebrations, to provide travel writers with ample material for illustrating to their English audiences how British North America survived the extremes of winter weather.

28. An American agent during the Red River Rebellion, James Wickes Taylor later became American consul at Winnipeg and a strong proponent of American expansion into the North-West. The northern travels of his daughter, Elizabeth R. Taylor, are discussed in the following chapter.

29. The Dawson Road was surveyed as early as 1857 by Simon J. Dawson, but work was only begun in 1868. The section from Fort Garry to Lake of the Woods was a dirt and corduroy road, and there were some fifty miles of similar road extending west from Thunder Bay (then Prince Arthur's Landing). Between these two actual roads, the Dawson route followed the old canoe route, through lakes, over rocky portages and around rapids; on many of the larger lakes there were steam tugs, and horse or oxen wagons were used on many intervening stretches. Although construction on it had only begun, the route was used by General Wolseley's troops in the summer of 1870, and the improvements they made en route contributed to its construction. Over the following years, dams were built on the Maligne River to raise water levels around falls and rapids, and a lock was begun at Fort Frances. The route was used by many travellers during the 1870s and early 1880s, although many travellers preferred the easier American route used by FitzGibbon's party. Once the CPR was completed between Fort Garry and the Lakehead, the route was almost immediately abandoned (Nute, "On the Dawson Road" 16-17).

30. See Emily Murphy's description of the effects of moving on her household in *Janey Canuck in the West* (1910) (5-6), Catharine Parr Traill's account of the wagon ride to her new home in *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836) (97), Mary Hall's light-hearted adventures in housekeeping in *A Lady's Life on a Farm in Manitoba* (1884) (33), and Georgina Binnie-Clark's description of buying household supplies in *A Summer on the Canadian Prairie* (1910) (98-100). Many of these narratives describe the trials of learning to homestead from a woman's point of view, and thus their comedy serves the double task of amusement and an unintimidating instruction. However, the common theme lies in the threat that the unsettled and uncivilized wilderness holds for domestic order and stability, a threat magnified, in many of these narratives, by the exigencies of domestic removal.

31. According to James Buzard, in the nineteenth century travel as a leisure activity was seen to provide a "*change* from the onerous duties and compromises that cage us in our usual selves" (103).

32. See, for instance, *Yukon Wild* (1984) by Beth Johnson, or the narratives in Judith Neimi and Barbara Wieser's collection, *Rivers Running Wild*.

33. For example: Mr. W—, one of Mr. C—'s staff, perishes by falling through thin ice while travelling alone (142); the men on the line are described carrying deadly nitro-glycerine, and tales of accidents with the explosive are related (163-64); a contractor is injured in an accident while building a culvert (181-82); and two "gentlemen" are nearly drowned in rapids (187). The narrative is characterized by a constant turning away from the narrator's own experience in favour of other exhibits: the mode is more expository than experiential.

34. This reluctance to be seen in public with the marks of 'wilderness' upon one appears in other narratives. Mary Hall records that, on the Sunday following a camping trip, "though it was very hot in Church we were ashamed to take our gloves off, on account of the scars" from mosquito bites (125). Emily Craig Romig, in her recollections of her journey to the Klondike gold rush, records experiencing the same reluctance to appear in public in her travelling clothes on her arrival at Dawson (104).

35. The present spelling is Telford.

36. This is particularly ironic, since the railway contract was subject to a prohibition on liquor.

37. An in-depth comparative analysis of *A Trip to Manitoba* and *Roughing It in the Bush* lies beyond the scope of this chapter. However, the common elements, including most notably the use of lower-class characters for comic relief, the focus away from male occupations (for Moodie, the action is shifted to the domestic front and away from the 1837 rebellion), and the common use of certain domestic elements such as the house fire, suggest that Moodie's text was one of FitzGibbon's models for writing about women in a wilderness context. I would argue that FitzGibbon's text fails to provide a strong structural narrative in the absence of a theme comparable to Moodie's controlling theme of adaptation to the backwoods.

38. Anna Jameson's comments, in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, about describing individual people, give some suggestion of the moral quandary that the travel writer might find herself in, when it came to representing her friends and hosts. Jameson states that she has avoided depicting "personalities" in her text "on principle; and I wish it to be distinctly understood, that whenever I *have* introduced any personal details, it has been with the express sanction of those most interested . . ." (xi). FitzGibbon may have been prevented from inventing a context for Miss F—'s life on the contract by the early negative Canadian reception of *Roughing It in the Bush*. Travel literature's understood status as a narration of true events would ensure that, in reception, whatever details FitzGibbon provided about her textual hosts would be seamlessly read back upon the real people. In FitzGibbon's narrative, this concern for privacy is restricted to her own class: the narrator's reticence does not prevent her from offering more detail about the living arrangements of the railroad builders (126-28) and of the indigenous inhabitants at Shoal Lake (201-03) than about her own domestic situation. In the logic of the travel narrative, of course, such details about the lives of those designated 'other' fall into one of two categories. As 'ethnography,' the personal details of an individual life become the facts that constitute public scientific knowledge. Alternatively, as 'local colour,' servant figures such as Cahill and Carrière serve as fodder for amusing character sketches, in which they become lower-class ethnic *types*

who bring local colour, and therefore 'authenticity,' to the narrative. Indeed, Cahill and Carrière perform much the same narrative function, offering devoted service, local colour, and comic relief; they play nearly interchangeable roles, despite the fact that the former is an aged Irishman and the latter a young Mohawk from Brantford.

CHAPTER THREE

Writing the Rails: Women, the West, and the Canadian Pacific Railway

Only a few years after the publication of *A Trip to Manitoba*, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was completed, to be followed immediately by a series of travel narratives shaped by an entirely different travel experience from that described by Mary Agnes FitzGibbon. The journey west became a railway journey, shaped by the itinerary, the service, and the material structure of the CPR. The construction of the CPR occurred at the same time as published travel narratives about the North-West by women began to appear in greater numbers;[1] this historical coincidence provides the initial focus for this chapter. In 1885, Ellen Elizabeth Spragge (1854-1932) travelled west on the first train to go through on the CPR line from Montreal to the Pacific Coast. She joined her husband in Donald, British Columbia, and after few months' stay there and a camping trip to the Kootenay Valley, they proceeded westward to Victoria. She related her western travels as a series of articles in the Toronto *Week*,[2] and later in an expanded form in *From Ontario to the Pacific by the C.P.R.* (1887). In the same summer Lady Agnes Macdonald (1836-1920) accompanied her husband on a 'Special' train provided to the prime minister for his first western tour. Lady Macdonald described their trip in a two-part article, entitled "By Car and by Cowcatcher," in *Murray's Magazine* in 1887. The texts written by Spragge and Macdonald describe journeys in which the railway both enables women's travel in the North-West, and also shapes women's experience of the region. These narratives are overtly structured by the railway: their route is that of the CPR line; their experience of the region is mediated by the exigencies of railway travel; and their representation of the regions through which they travel is heavily influenced by the CPR's own relation to the North-West.

This chapter and the one following share a concern with the relationship between the material means of travel, the publication of women's travel writing, and the shape that writing takes. The appearance in the 1880s of women's writing about travels in the West and, a decade later, women's travels in the North, coincides in each case with the development of a modern transportation infrastructure. Certainly, once the railway was completed, any woman could buy a ticket and travel west, without requiring the kind of institutional opportunities that were available to Frances Simpson, the Grey Nuns, or FitzGibbon. However, Ellen Spragge and Agnes Macdonald, like most women travel writers in the English tradition, came of privileged backgrounds and had special contacts within the institutions that dominated the region in which they travelled.

Ellen Spragge's father was a federal parliamentarian and a member of the Ontario bar, and her mother was the daughter of an American general. Spragge was educated in England, and married Arthur G.M. Spragge in 1878; her husband was an official with the CPR, and in 1886 he was stationed in Donald, British Columbia. *From Ontario to the Pacific by the C.P.R.* was Spragge's only book, although she

also published a series of articles and sketches on British Columbia in the *Dominion Illustrated*. In 1902, she organized "The Woman's Kingdom" in the *Mail and Empire*, and she published articles in other papers and journals. However, she is better known as an artist; she sold several watercolours of the Rockies, and was said to be the "first Canadian lady" to illustrate her own articles[3] ("Spragge, Mrs." 1051; Harper 296).

Lady Macdonald was born Susan Agnes Bernard, the daughter of an old Jamaican planter family whose fortunes had declined in the decades following 1834, when the Jamaican Assembly acceded to the British Abolition Bill of 1808. Her father was an attorney, a member of the Assembly, and a judge. Following his death in 1850, Susan Agnes and her mother lived in England for three years until they joined her brother Hewitt Bernard in Barrie, Canada West, in 1854. Three years later Hewitt became John A. Macdonald's private secretary; over the next several years, the Bernards resided in Toronto, Montreal, Quebec City—wherever the government happened to be sitting. In 1865, Agnes and her mother returned to England for a prolonged visit, and, in 1867, she married Macdonald while he was there to attend the Colonial Conference, the negotiations surrounding the British North America Act (Reynolds 2-22). Later that year, on Dominion Day, he was made a knight commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and she became Lady Macdonald (44). "By Car and by Cowcatcher" is the account of her experiences on the prime minister's 1886 western tour, just after the CPR opened for transcontinental travel. Until John A. Macdonald's death in 1891, Lady Macdonald undertook all the duties associated with the position of First Lady of the Dominion. Although she was an avid diarist and amateur painter, as many Victorian ladies were, "By Car and by Cowcatcher" was her first published writing. She followed it with an article in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and several articles in *Murray's Magazine* over the next few years;[4] she published little beyond these articles.[5]

The varied paths by which women's narratives about the North-West reached the public signal how dependent upon individual circumstances women's access to publication was, in the precarious market of nineteenth-century publishing. *Letters and Sketches Collected from a Voyage in the North-West*, the fundraising pamphlet printed for the Grey Nuns by F. Callaghan of Montreal and discussed in the previous chapter, would probably, in 1875, have had only a very narrow circulation in Ontario and Quebec, and perhaps New England. FitzGibbon, on the other hand, seems to have been able to exploit her grandmother's publishing connections. *A Trip to Manitoba* was, as I noted in the previous chapter, simultaneously published in Canada and in England by Susanna Moodie's publishers.[6] The family connection no doubt helped to provide FitzGibbon with access, so difficult for a colonial writer to obtain, to the British publishing market. Spragge's narrative, in contrast, had a largely Canadian audience. It appeared as a series of articles in the Toronto *Week*, and had an immediate, guaranteed audience because of its status as news, since Spragge documented, sometimes with as small a time lag as twelve days, the delights offered by the new transcontinental railway. The articles were later collected in a cheap edition published by C. Blackett Robinson in Montreal;[7] it probably never circulated

much beyond the borders of Canada. Macdonald's journey, because it was also that of the prime minister, was extensively documented in the Canadian press.[8] Her own article was published in England, although a condensed version appeared at the same time in Canadian papers. Her narrative appeared in the first volume of *Murray's Magazine*, a periodical that had just been launched by John Murray.[9] Macdonald's article would have received circulation throughout the British Empire, and certainly would have been read in important circles in Canada, but it was published in a vehicle aimed primarily at a British audience familiar with the travels of British ladies.[10]

As well as creating an audience, of course, the railway also provided transportation to the North-West. On a practical level, the railway allowed women, who were widely believed to be delicate and to need protection from any amount of unpleasantness (Buzard 58, 82), to travel without an extensive retinue and baggage. They were for the duration of their journeys under the care of the railway company, which had undertaken to provide them with appropriate shelter and protection for the price of their ticket. However, the very existence of such a transportation network also affected how eastern Canada imagined the North-West's relation to the nation as a whole.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the mid-century shift in eastern perceptions about the North-West, from an understanding of the region as a wilderness fit only for fur traders and indigenous peoples, to a belief that the "fertile belt" across the prairies had the potential for agricultural exploitation. On a material level, the railway was a product of western expansionism—a means to "redeem" the land from the wild, as Fleming wrote ("Practical Observations" 117). The railway also encouraged Victorian Canada to see progress in terms of western settlement and resource exploitation. Its construction fueled the engineering surveys and scientific study[11] that not only led to the discovery, appropriation and exploitation of the resources of the North-West, but also, according to Suzanne Zeller, constituted the very idea of Canada as a transcontinental nation (269-73). In practice, the North-West was no longer barren wilderness, or even unclaimed wilderness with potential, but was agricultural hinterland awaiting exploitation. After its construction, the railway's financial survival demanded the sale of its land grants to settlers and the promotion of tourism. CPR publicity literature encouraged eastern Canadian expansionism, and promoted and disseminated a coherent and powerful image of Canada as a transcontinental nation united by the railway and connected to the British Empire's international transportation network (E.J. Hart 7-8, 72-73).

During the ten years between FitzGibbon's arrival in Manitoba in 1876 and the journeys of Macdonald and Spragge, a series of historical events focussed Canadian interest westward. In 1878, once the Liberal government was replaced by Macdonald's Conservative government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was established to oversee railway construction, progress on the railway itself increased dramatically. Winnipeg experienced a real-estate boom in the early eighties, and a cataclysmic bust after the floods of 1882. The railway line was complete from the Lakehead to Calgary by August 1883. The last spike was driven at Craigellachie, British Columbia, in November 1885, after the eruption of the

North-West Rebellion had spurred Macdonald's government into a final show of support, realizing that, in order to hold the North-West, Canada needed a reliable form of national transportation. The completion of the railway, the victory over opposition to western expansion in the North-West Rebellion, the seemingly endless potential resources in the region, and the imminent federal election of the following year focussed the attention of the nation and the empire on the North-West in a heady atmosphere of national expansionism.

Written in this context, the narratives of Macdonald and Spragge, like most women's travel-writing in the expansionist years following 1880, reproduce the same nationalist and imperialist themes characteristic of other travel literature in the North-West. They celebrate the technological achievement represented by the railway and the national expansion it made possible, as well as the visible progress in the communities it created. They rarely acknowledge the accompanying destruction of indigenous cultures, and their frequently negative representations of native peoples tend to reflect a touristic dissatisfaction with the disappearance of the romantic 'noble' savage,[12] and an accompanying indictment of indigenous peoples' failure to reproduce a European agricultural economy. Spragge and Macdonald catalogue resources and cite statistics about the available timber, mineral, and agricultural wealth of the North-West, foregrounding the connection between travel literature and imperialism, presenting the economic motives underlying western expansion in a glorifying nationalist/imperialist framework, and rationalizing the economic and political agenda of western expansionism. The ladies who travelled, like most women in this early period, may not have personally explored and surveyed the land, fought in the North-West Rebellion, signed treaties, built the railway or proved up homesteads, but their narratives fully support western expansion, and many of these women travellers, like Macdonald and Spragge, considered themselves partners in the careers of men integrally involved in the winning of the West.

Thus, although the railway offered women transportation west for the price of a ticket, the journeys taken by Spragge and Macdonald owed a great deal to their husbands' careers. Spragge probably obtained her coveted seat on the first through train because her husband was a CPR official; certainly she was travelling to meet him in British Columbia. Macdonald travelled in the capacity of "general manager" on her husband's triumphal western tour (215). This has been, throughout the tradition of women's travel literature and despite critical emphasis on unmarried women travellers in such works as Dea Birkett's *Spinsters Abroad*, the pattern of many women's travels. From Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who accompanied her husband on an embassy to Constantinople in 1716-18, to Emily Murphy, whose minister husband was advised for reasons of health to move west in 1902 and take up an outdoor lifestyle, many women travelled with their spouses.

A woman's presence on the journey might thus be structured by the demands of male employment, and her own interests and desires might be of secondary importance to the itinerary; yet her experiences and observations, and the narrative written about them, are not for this reason marginal or secondary.[13] FitzGibbon, Spragge and Macdonald were all conscious of the historical significance of their

observations of the North-West at a particular point in time, that is, just as the region was being opened to settlement. Their narratives describe events central to Canadian public life in the 1880s. FitzGibbon's Preface to the Canadian edition, for instance, offers her text explicitly as an historical document,

> a faithful picture, . . . [that may] be read with some interest now as a representation of one phase of the march of civilization into the wilderness and in the future, by those who go up to possess that goodly land, as a record of the rude work done to open a pathway for them to their new homes. (vii)

The Preface projects the narrative forward in time, situating its significance in a future of nationalist expansion, and its vision of progress. The hope that the book would "be read with some interest *now*" (my italics) suggests that the speedy "march of civilization" is such that the text is already dated; the gap between journey (1876-78) and publication (1880) is foregrounded to highlight its significance as an historical document. The narrative itself emphasizes the progress of civilization westward even during the journey to Winnipeg, the writer foreshadowing changes that will have taken place upon her return two years later (40). More changes are documented in her own observations and in the discussions of her fellow travellers on the return journey (265-66). Spragge and Macdonald, whose narratives both initially appeared in periodicals, are also conscious of the historical significance, for an immediately contemporary audience, of the journeys they describe.

I have noted that women's published travel writing about the North-West appeared only once transcontinental railway construction began. However, the transcontinental railway changed the patterns of all Canadian travel writing, not just that written by women. After 1885, most published narratives of Canadian travel began to focus on the North-West. There were several reasons for this new geographical orientation. As the region became accessible, not only were there more people travelling west of the Great Lakes, but there was also an expanding market in England and the United States, as well as in eastern Canada, for any information about the North-West; this encouraged the production of such narratives. The excitement that fueled western settlement and resource exploitation, an excitement created and encouraged by CPR and Canadian government publicity promoting the opportunities available in the region, also fueled interest in travel narratives about the region and a desire for independent information. In addition, in the years following the completion of the railway, the CPR developed a vast body of tourism literature which envisaged the transcontinental railway as the North American route, through British territory, between Atlantic and Pacific steamship service, one link in a world-wide, and empire-wide, transportation network (E.J. Hart 73). E.J. Hart's study of CPR publicity literature describes the annotated timetable, made available for the first transcontinental train, and reissued for many years thereafter:

> In the Eastern Division (Montreal to Fort William) little was mentioned of tourist appeal except the attractions of major cities such as Montreal and Ottawa, the possibilities of connections to Niagara Falls through Toronto and the option of the steamship detour from Owen Sound to

> Port Arthur, adjoining Fort William at the lakehead. In the Western division (Fort William to Donald, in the Columbia Valley) the emphasis began to change. Although it was the agricultural possibilities of the country that received the most attention, landscape began to become important at the Lake of the Woods, where "the scenery is of the wildest description, and deep rock-bound lakes are always in sight." Out on the prairies several comments were made about the beauty of the wide vistas, but it was not until Gleichen, where the first view of the mountains could be obtained, that the emphasis shifted to the description of scenery and the outlining of tourist possibilities, and it continued in this vein to the end of the Western Division and throughout the Pacific Division (Donald to Vancouver). All the best adjectives were brought out to describe the breathtaking surroundings. . . . (23-24)

CPR publicity literature encouraged its audience to see the mountain region as the goal and climax of the journey, and tended to pass briefly over travel through the East (25). As a result, many travel narratives also began to skim over the eastern provinces of Canada, offering only fleeting descriptions until their journey reached the prairies. The perceived tedium of the Canadian Shield encouraged this tendency.

Not only did the railway shift travel writers' interest westward; it also reshaped the North-West in a very material way. The region was transformed, by the now-available transportation to eastern markets, into a viable settlement frontier rather than an endless wilderness serving the sportsman and fur-trader; more importantly, its northern orientation shifted. As I noted in the previous chapter, in the period before railway construction, the main axis of western travel lay along the fur trading routes, west from the northern end of Lake Winnipeg through the northern prairies. Now the railway carried travellers through an entirely different region, through communities which had come into being with the railway, and were only a few years, rather than decades, old. A theme of swift and recent development characterized the textual representation of these communities, and the idea of the North-West as a 'new,' 'young' land was encouraged by the lack of a material European historical presence. The southern prairie route, west from Winnipeg via Regina and Calgary, rather than through Carlton House and Edmonton, was the North-West that travellers visited and described in the years following railway construction.[14] This became the common route of travel for male as well as female travel writers in the last decades of the nineteenth century.[15] However, in focussing here on two women's narratives in the first few months of the transcontinental railway's operations, I am considering not only how the railway shaped the typical travel itinerary, but also how the railway journey enabled women travel writers' negotiations of the discourses of domesticity and travel, as they wrote themselves as women into an idea of western travel.

The patterns of regional representation identified by E.J. Hart—focussing the reader on the West rather than on the cities of eastern Canada—are also evident in the narratives of Spragge and Macdonald. However, their travels and the publication of their narratives predated much of the publicity material Hart describes, and certainly

preceded the vast body of travel literature published in the 1890s—a body of literature which Hart suggests is highly derivative of CPR tourist literature (50-51). In fact, later versions of the annotated timetable cited Macdonald's article as a testimonial of the appeal of the CPR's western route (E.J. Hart 24). Early in the history of western railway travel, however, these patterns of regional representation were already being laid down. The prairies, as a settlement frontier, were marketed in the CPR literature in terms of emigration and settlement, which would provide revenue from freight transportation, land sales, and ticket sales to immigrant passengers. In Spragge's and Macdonald's narratives, the prairies are featured as the space where business is carried out and where civilized standards persist, as befits a region understood in terms of settlement and progress towards civilization. In contrast, the expensively constructed and maintained mountain section of the line generated comparatively little freight revenue for the railway, but the mountain scenery was marketable; accordingly, CPR tourist literature publicized the region on a "sport-and-scenery" theme, and the company established a series of mountain hotels, guides, and off-the-line tourist activities (E.J. Hart 56-67). Although most of this infrastructure was developed in the decade following the arrival of Spragge and Macdonald in the mountains, the pattern was already evident in the annotated timetable Hart describes above, which both Spragge and Macdonald would have known. In their narratives, the physical ruggedness of a geography which had historically been a barrier to overland efforts to reach the Pacific, dating back to Alexander Mackenzie's explorations in the late eighteenth century, combines with the lack of settlements and the visual beauty of the mountain region to offer the woman traveller a landscape still designated as wilderness, and therefore available for a different kind of travel than the prairies offered. In both of these narratives, the representation of the traveller and her journey changes upon arrival at the mountains.

Women's new access, in increasing numbers, to the North-West was both facilitated and shaped by railway travel. Spragge's narrative claims its importance from the fact that it documents a journey on "the first through train, which left Montreal on the 28th June, 1886" (5), although she travels on that train only between Winnipeg and Calgary. She departs from Toronto on the CPR branch line to Owen Sound, crossing the lakes to Port Arthur on the CPR steamer *Alberta*, and then taking another CPR train to Winnipeg, where she joins the official "first through train." She leaves that train in Calgary in order to connect with a local train which will take her to her husband and home waiting in Donald. Only after three months' residence in Donald and a camping trip to the Kootenay Plains does she continue on to Victoria,[16] but her representation of the railway and the region travelled is throughout highly detailed and documented. Macdonald's considerably shorter narrative covers a two-week journey in July 1886 on the "Special" train assigned to the prime minister's tour. Although the train stops and starts according to the prime minister's itinerary (they did not, for the most part, travel at night [Macdonald 300]), even short side trips return to the main line of the journey, the CPR line. In both cases, the itinerary does not stray very far from the railway.

This was not Macdonald's first trip west: she had travelled as far west as the summit of the Rockies on a sixteen-day journey, without her husband, in late December 1885 and early January 1886 (Reynolds 104-06), and her 1887 narrative alludes frequently to that earlier journey, and the "progress" of western communities over the intervening six months (219, 224, 232). The publication of an account of this second journey signals the importance accorded both the railway's completion and the prime minister's western tour, which took place a bare seven months before the next election. The shape of both Spragge's and Macdonald's narratives also mimics the achievement of the railway construction, finally accomplishing the connection between east and west, and unifying the country. The journey is not one of departure from home and return, but one which spans a nation. As in Sandford Fleming's earlier narrative, *England and Canada: A Summer Tour between Old and New Westminster* (1884), the "very English flavour" of Vancouver Island (Spragge 181) at the narrative ending functions as a figurative return, leaving the reader in the landscape and culture of an idealized, transplanted England.[17] The railway journey thus symbolically concludes with the narrative reassurance that the technological progress and national ambition represented by the railway culminate in a reinforcement and expansion of British culture, unthreatened by the variety of landscape and novelty of experience that the narrative has catalogued en route.

However, railway travel did more than provide the traveller with a quick visual inventory of the country. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, in *The Railway Journey*, has argued that when railway technology replaced the traditional form of coach travel in Europe, the sensory experience of travel changed drastically: the jolting motion of the coach on rough roads, pulled by animal power which varied in speed and endurance, was replaced by the smooth, regular rhythms of the steam engine. This was experienced, Schivelbusch argues, "as the loss of a communicative relationship between man and nature" (14). Similarly, the construction of smooth and level railway lines, reducing the extreme grades of the natural terrain with cuttings, embankments, and trestle bridges, also reduced the traveller's direct experience of the landscape (25). The new transportation technology thus separated the traveller from direct experience of space being travelled; railway travel became an experience of "points of departure and destinations," rather than of the landscape in between (44).[18]

This had two results, in the Canadian context. First, and most obviously, railway travel enabled the traveller to cover more ground in faster time. Such efficiency was an important consideration for a nation attempting to take possession of the northern half of the continent. Spragge and Macdonald journeyed far more widely and in a far shorter time than FitzGibbon, whose trip to Manitoba took more than two years. Spragge's journey took place between the end of June and the middle of October 1886; Macdonald travelled from Ottawa to Vancouver during two weeks in the month of July. This foreshortening has important implications for the scope of the railway narrative. Schivelbusch identifies one of the key tropes in the travel literature of the early railway period as the "[a]nnihilation of time and space" (13). The Canadian experience of railways, coming in a later generation when many of the

passengers would be accustomed to rail travel in the American and British context, does not seem to have resulted in the same kind of widespread cultural discomfort (among those of European descent) that Schivelbusch identifies in the European context. Instead of replacing familiar modes of transportation,[19] in the Canadian context, the railway made transportation possible to regions hitherto inaccessible. And through this trope of spatial conquest, railways offered the Canadian imagination a means of appropriating and structuring a region formerly identified largely in terms of limitless size. The North-West could now be widely understood as a part of the growing nation, with specific points along the line. At the same time, the railway limited encounter with the 'space' between railway stops, and thus limited the traveller's experience of the region. Because the technology made travel through a wide area easy and fast, and affirmed the success of European civilization by its very existence, railway travellers rarely transcend the reproduction of stereotypes and clichés: the indigenous peoples are always picturesque and vanishing, the mountains sublime, and the plains always boundless and lone.

The second effect of this separation imposed by the train between the region travelled and the traveller has specific significance for women's travel in the North-West. In studying European cultural adaptation to railway travel, Schivelbusch pays little attention to gender; he shares this bias with much early leftist analysis. What is clear from the narratives by Macdonald and Spragge is that the railway provided a closed environment for travel, one which preserved the standards of middle-class femininity during travel through the wilderness. Travel was no longer necessarily the "stepping away" from conventions that Marni Stanley suggests it might have been for many women travellers (60), and that FitzGibbon experienced, with some anxiety, on her return journey from the contract. Rather than the domestic chaos described in FitzGibbon's journey out to the contract, railway travel featured organization, convenience, and a high degree of service. The closed compartments of the European railway cars were abandoned, in the Canadian system, for open, American-style cars, but the first-class Pullman[20] still offered protection from the elements and an enclosed space which, while not precisely private, reproduced as much as possible the decor and comfort of the parlour, the formal meeting space of the Victorian middle- and upper-class home.[21] Women's cars, like the ladies' cabins (from which men were excluded) on river and lake steamers, further provided space for the preservation of female modesty. The very separation from external nature which Schivelbusch identifies as constitutive of the new transportation technology allowed women of the middle and upper classes—ladies—to travel under civilized conditions, and indeed, in considerable luxury, for the first time in the North-West. The anxieties about appearance and transformation by wilderness travel, which are expressed in FitzGibbon's narrative, are not present in women's railway narratives. Lady Macdonald, in a letter to Louisa Macdonald, expresses her delighted surprise in the CPR's facilities on her first western journey:

> What astonished me was the comfort & ease of the railway, its strict punctuality, its quiet & prompt management & its little motion. We read, played games, wrote letters, all generally with great ease & this

> on a line far away in an almost uninhabited country & in depth of a Canadian winter. . . . (19 Jan. 1886)

The emotional impact of this passage rests on the explicit contrast between the domestic pastimes described, and the environment through which the writer was travelling. The railway's success as a mode of transportation, here, lies in the extent to which it *effaces* the impact of an implicitly inhospitable environment on the traveller, and allows the conventional leisure activities of feminine society. Travel on the railway is no longer *travail*; indeed, Schivelbusch likens the railway traveller to a human parcel, carried to his or her destination (45).

Women's experience of wilderness travel has historically been characterized by this kind of passivity:[22] Frances Simpson records being carried in the arms of voyageurs over river crossings on her 1830 journey from Lachine to Fort Garry (30-31, 44); FitzGibbon's account of her wagon's upset on the Dawson Road, quoted in the previous chapter, clearly separates those who are trying to figure out how to get out of the mud-hole from "we women," whose duties are merely to quiet the children and to wait (89); later, her note about Mrs. F—'s silent endurance of a rough lake crossing (225) echoes an image of women canoe travellers, from Frances Simpson ("Journal" 100) to Mina Hubbard (*Woman's Way*, Murray ed. 222), as passengers who contribute nothing to running rapids and crossing lakes but their steadfast passivity and admiration for male skill.[23] On a purely practical level, however, railway travel did give some women more independent agency: the railway would take them anywhere along its line for the price of a ticket, while earlier transportation systems, such as the HBC's canoe and York boat brigades, were not commonly available for women's independent use. The Great Plains of the North-West and the interior plateaux of the Rocky Mountains, once accessible only to indigenous people and a tiny population of European fur traders and sportsmen, became accessible for the first time to large numbers of white women after 1886.

What is important here, for the study of the development of women's western writing, is not that women's experience of the railway was different from men's,[24] but that there already existed a tradition of male wilderness writing that valorized successful confrontation with the landscape, while women's public record of their experiences in the North-West began with the railway period, and with the travel patterns the railway dictated. As a result, women were presented with an already-existing tradition of the North-West as a region whose appeal lay in adventure and struggle with natural forces, as Owram describes, but with no textual precedent for representing themselves as part of that adventure, and with a sense that their own presence in the region changed its character. FitzGibbon's text, as I discussed in the previous chapter, tends to represent all women except the narrator as failed travellers sacrificing themselves and their comfort in the service of their wifely duties; the traveller herself, despite the rough travel conditions described in the narrative, is distanced from the experience of wilderness struggle by a sequence of rhetorical strategies. In the narratives by Spragge and Macdonald, the railway provides a means of representation for women in the North-West which also by-passes the idea of wilderness; women's published self-representation as travellers in the West thus

begins when it becomes possible to travel within the insulating domestic space of the railway car.

This sense of separation between traveller and landscape is particularly evident in Spragge's narrative. Writing for publication initially in the Toronto *Week*, Spragge aimed to document the experience of riding on the first transcontinental train and to provide a description of the regions made newly accessible by the CPR. Her text provides detailed descriptions of the opulence of the railway cars and the luxurious services provided (26-30). Although the narrative was revised, and a considerable amount of material was added before book publication,[25] even the original articles rely heavily on citations from Sandford Fleming's book, *England and Canada*. These citations flesh out Spragge's observations from the windows of the railway car with information provided by the man who was, during the 1870s, chief engineer of the railway, and whose 1872 surveying expedition had been the subject of George Grant's book, *Ocean to Ocean* (1873), one of the few Canadian books of its time to achieve financial success (Parker 234). Further citations from the Winnipeg *Free Press* (24-25, 71), the Washington *Star* (39), and the Toronto *Mail* (85-92), as well as the book's addition of an Introduction importing information from the *Canadian Almanac* (5-13), all supplement what Spragge sees. These citations cumulatively emphasize the limitations of railway travel as a means to learn about the country. The railway traveller's view from the window has to be supplemented from other sources.

In effect, women's experience of the North-West from the railway car is insufficient. In one key incident, when the train develops a mechanical failure, this insufficiency becomes even more obvious:

> . . . our engine developed a hot box, and went off either for repairs or to seek a substitute, leaving its nine cars in solitary grandeur out on the boundless prairie without a habitation in sight. The gentlemen all availed themselves of this opportunity to leave the train and wander about in search of flowers and curiosities. I was presented with a magnificent bouquet of gigantic size . . . (32-33)

There are, of course, material reasons why women, dressed in long skirts and corsets, could not just hop off a train in the middle of the prairie without a station platform to enable them easily to descend from and re-board it. However, the effect of this episode in the narrative is to emphasize the extent to which, in Spragge's experience, railway travel separates her from the "boundless prairie without a habitation"; she is confined to the only man-made structure in sight. Just as visiting engineers and workers furnished anecdotes of wilderness life for FitzGibbon's kitchen table in *A Trip to Manitoba*, so the prairie is brought to Spragge, either textually, through the writing of Sandford Fleming and the hunter whose narrative in the Washington *Star* is cited, or materially, through the bouquets brought back to her by the gentlemen, for whom the train's delay affords an "opportunity" unavailable to the woman traveller.

In Macdonald's narrative, the private car provided to the prime minister by the CPR is even more overtly constituted as a domestic space. Her self-characterization as "general manager" of the party (215) leads directly into a detailed inventory of the

ingeniously organized and luxurious car which, like her own home, is under her direct management:

> How pleasant it is to recall the sense of novelty and of freedom which delighted at least one of our party as we walked through the length of the train and inspected our accommodation. . . . The "Jamaica"[26]—her large fixed lamps brightening each little sitting-room—had a very homelike effect. Baskets of flowers stood on the narrow tables, already heaped with books and newspapers; comfortable sofas lined her polished sides, and wide arm-chairs stood on either side of the entrance-doors. In a tiny kitchen the white-aproned cook stood superintending the stowage of sundry useful packages into a neat little cupboard fitted behind two cosy bedrooms placed *dos à dos* in the centre of the car, with a door opening into each parlour. These small apartments contained excellent beds, good washing apparatus, with taps for hot and cold water connecting with the kitchen-stove and a tank overhead; lockers, drawers, a mirror, and a large fixed lamp—all somewhat resembling the cabin of a fine ship, everything being as richly coloured and effective as black walnut and gilding could make it. (216)

Descriptions such as this cater to a readership interested not only in the standards of luxury available on the CPR, but also in the lifestyle of the privileged and celebrated First Lady of the Dominion. Compared to FitzGibbon's near-effacement of the domestic space in the wilderness, however, Spragge's and Macdonald's descriptions of opulent railway cars also emphasize the extent to which, regardless of the characteristics of the actual region being travelled through, the experience of travel in the North-West has now become an experience of the railway, and thus of the most advanced transportation technology of Western culture. The luxurious and tasteful domestic arrangements validate the authority of the lady traveller by testifying to her class status; they also perform the second purpose of the narrative, to testify to the civilized standards achieved by the colonial railway system, and therefore to emphasize the triumphant achievement of the nation in general and, in this narrative, of Sir John A. Macdonald in particular.

Both narratives, in fact, are unstinting in their praise of the railway's rapid construction, and the constant vigilance and care of the CPR for its passengers. This praise serves a two-fold, tautological purpose: both women were married to men whose careers were integrally involved in the success of the railway; the lady traveller's journey is thus facilitated by her husband's career, and her writing of the journey supports that career. In Macdonald's case, the journey is, historically speaking, the western tour of Agnes Macdonald's husband, Canadian Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, only seven months before the next election. Her article is not an overtly political document. The prime minister coyly appears in the narrative as "Our 'Chief'" and "Our Brother-in-law, a very well known personage in Canada" (223), and the narrative devotes far more space to the narrator's observations than to his meetings and speeches. However, throughout the first part of Macdonald's

article, which appeared the same month as the 1887 election, her husband appears as the almost-absent centre around which the woman traveller's journey revolves. The trip is presented as the culmination of *his* political life:

> He has come to see the realization of the darling dream of his heart,—a railway from ocean to ocean, the development of many million acres of magnificent country, and the birth of a new nation. . . . During the forty years and in the various capacities he had tried, in his poor way, faithfully to serve Queen and country, no happier hours had come to him, I think, than these, as he sits thoughtful in the "Jamaica," looking on the varied scenes through which we pass. (222)

The first part of the article, covering the journey from Ottawa to the mountains, focusses on the grand scale of the railway, and detailed descriptions of the wealth, material progress and beauty of the regions through which the tour passes. The political activities of the Chief's tour punctuate the narrative at each stop. He engages in meetings, rallies and speeches, and, although the narrative eschews any mention except in passing of his "grave and earnest talk" (223) in Port Arthur or the "few words" with which he greets his constituents at Winnipeg (223), these regular reminders of the politics behind the travel serve to keep before the reader its political significance. The narrator's observations of the landscape and its potential thus emphasize the importance of the railway and of the Chief's political and national triumph, by enumerating the visual rewards of western expansion.

Finally, the passing references to the Chief's political activities climax in a meeting with Crowfoot and the Blackfoot nation, a meeting attended and described in full by the narrator. Here the Chief becomes the focus of the narrative. The unintentional irony of the name is glaring for the twentieth-century reader, and serves to emphasize the political agenda at work in Macdonald's narrative—an agenda which incorporates the stereotypical presence of the indigene, much as the prime minister appropriates the designation 'Chief,' only to mark the power and political mastery of the politician. He pacifies the indigenous people, acknowledging and dealing with their complaints and demands without—and this is presented as a mark of his political acumen—promising anything (229-30). During this first half of the narrative, Lady Macdonald serves as the focal witness whose observations from the margin of the political action entertain the reader with the vast rewards, in terms of the materially and aesthetically valuable landscape of the North-West, which the Chief has won for the nation with his political skill. The fleeting appearances of the Chief, climaxing in the meeting at Gleichen, serve as a textual lure to keep the reader's interest in the narrative, constantly promising and constantly deferring a detailed and intimate portrait of the nation's leader; at the same time, the prime minister's career is boosted by the narrative demonstration of the results of his services to the country. It is an effective political partnership.

In contrast to the Macdonald party, Spragge received far less personal accommodation from the CPR; the truly luxurious car that she describes at Winnipeg, for instance, is "intended to be occupied entirely by men" (26), and she is relegated to a "very common and ordinary Pullman" (28). However, if Macdonald's narrative

functions to support her husband's political career, Spragge's provides equally effective publicity for the CPR, for which her husband worked. Her narrative presents a journey calculated to appeal to the upper-class passenger, the same class of passenger at which, according to E.J. Hart, the CPR aimed most of its publicity literature. She offers her readers a vicarious experience of travel in the height of style, reproducing all the themes of luxurious service, convenience, beautiful scenery, and tourism which were to become the touchstones of CPR advertising.[27] The CPR first-class car is "one of the handsomest Pullmans owned by the Company" (26). The decor includes velvet and carved cherry-wood, inlaid with brass, and features stained glass, marble basins, and even a small bath (26-27). Her first meal in the dining car is equally luxurious, "the seats of solid dark leather[,] . . . the mirrors and all suitable portions of the car inlaid with bronze, the linen and plate, glass and china, all fresh and resplendent" (30). The service is flawless, both on board the train and when arranging the journey. At every opportunity Spragge emphasizes the extent of the CPR's solicitude for its passengers.

The narrative develops as a series of amusements, in which all elements, from the weather to the landscape, exist primarily for the traveller. The weather is always "all that it should have been" (14), except when a diversion is required; then, a prairie storm presents a spectacle in which "[b]y common consent, knives and forks were laid aside, and the occupants of the well-filled car ceased to shout inaudible orders to patient, much-vexed waiters, and devoted themselves to contemplating the progress of the storm" (31). When the beauties of the prairie landscape pall, the traveller wakes the next morning to the eerie exoticism of southern Saskatchewan, "an arid, rolling country, utterly devoid of tree or shrub," marked by alkali ponds and the old bones and trails of the now-extinct buffalo (33-34). This landscape provides the stereotypical backdrop for a colourful indigenous presence, which presents itself when the son of Big Bear, a noted figure in the recent North-West Rebellion, meets the train:

> . . . [he] rode on to the platform attired in full dress, wearing a black felt wide-awake, carrying a lasso over the horn of his saddle, and mounted on a cream pony, about twelve hands high, adorned with a gorgeous embroidered saddle-cloth. Most of the gentlemen and several ladies got out of the train to examine him and his steed more closely, and at least one passenger, more venturesome than the rest, persuaded the boy to dismount, jumped upon the pony's back, and cantered the tractable little beast up and down the platform close to the car windows, amid shouts of laughter from within and without. (34-35)

The description is primarily visual, and the boy is given no speech, no name, no subjective presence; the narrative offers no reason for his presence at the station. He functions in the text only to provide the passengers with the vicarious thrill of seeing—in ornate detail—a now-harmless western native, closely related to the notorious Big Bear, but reduced to a spectacle. Crowfoot also appears in the narrative as one of the 'sights' of the North-West when the train reaches Gleichen. He boards the train, is celebrated by the passengers for his "proven loyalty during the

late rebellion," and is "presented with the freedom of the Dining-car in an elaborate address" (42). Finally, reluctant to leave, he is "forcibly lifted" from the car, to the laughter of all concerned (43); the episode serves as an ironic comment on the limitations of the "freedom" extended to him. The encounter with Crowfoot in both of these narratives serves the double purpose of validating the traveller's presence in the region and asserting Canadian control over the indigenous inhabitants. The figure of the western native, recently looming as such a threat in the eastern press's coverage of the rebellion, has become a sight for tourists of the North-West: he is heroic or pathetic, tragic or ridiculous, according to the traveller's preferred representation.

Continuing the sequence of touristic images of the North-West, Calgary offers Spragge her "first experience of the *reality* of Western life" with the picturesque sight of a nearby Indian encampment (46; my italics) and the "cowboys to be seen at all hours dashing about the streets" (47). Again, these provide a primarily visual spectacle. The writer does not attempt any deeper description of how these "picturesque element[s]" play a part in the new society developing in the North-West. James Buzard has identified the development, in the latter half of the century, of a textual unease with tropes which reduce indigenous inhabitants to the status of picturesque visual spectacles that fulfil the tourist's search for 'authenticity' (197-206). However, that kind of textual self-awareness is absent here and in most travel narratives of the North-West during this heady period of national expansion.

The heavy reliance on visual imagery and landscape scenery in Spragge's narrative occurs for several reasons. Certainly, as E.J. Hart has suggested, one of the predominant themes of CPR publicity was the glorious mountain scenery that the railway made accessible (12), and the emphasis in that literature on illustrations of high quality (31-39) heightened travellers' awareness of the 'view.' As well, the fact that the railway car itself cuts the traveller off from all *but* visual access to the environment is significant. Schivelbusch suggests that it introduces a new way of seeing landscape, as a panorama, a succession of long-range views; the speed of the train prevents detailed observation, but instead offers the traveller a series of ever-changing images which allow the viewer to grasp, as a whole, the broad general outlines of a region (62-64). Railway travel makes it possible to grasp the entire, huge space of the North-West, from lakehead to mountain summit, in the succeeding views of a few days, a kind of visual territorial inventory that Spragge offers her readers.

However, Spragge was an artist as well as a writer, and, particularly in the mountain section of her text, it is the artist who comes to the forefront. There the landscape becomes a series of "scenes that [begin] to unfold themselves" (61) for the railway traveller. Like the "picturesque element[s]" provided by costumed Indians and cowboys in Calgary, the mountains present themselves for the discerning traveller with artistic taste:

> Peak towered above peak on both sides of the line, carved and moulded by the hand of Nature in every possible form of crag and precipice, as if lavish of design; their snow-clad summits glistened in the early

> sunlight with such dazzling brightness that the eye was glad to travel slowly down, over the reddish yellow rocks on which the snow was resting in shady nooks and crevices, to the bare walls of the same warm colour below; then on to the dark forests of spruce and fir straggling up from the sea of green beneath. Words seem too feeble to express or describe the grandeur and solemnity of such scenery. . . . (61-62)

Throughout Spragge's mountain travels, the same images are repeated: the variety of sublime scenery, marked by a grand scale, often violent imagery, and the ineffability (inadequacy of language) trope (61, 96). Her description of the landscape increasingly focusses on aesthetic considerations, emphasizing texture, colour, light and shadow. The sense that this is specifically an artistic landscape is reiterated: the mountains "would have delighted the eye of an artist" (94), she notes as they embark on their journey up the Columbia River; the Rockies are reminiscent of "some of Turner's Italian landscapes" (98); the view of the Kootenay valley from the river "remind[ed] me of many views I had seen of the English lake country," that picturesque standard of English landscape viewing (124); and the importance of the Glacier Hotel as a sketching-ground for artists is introduced as proof of the landscape's beauty (169-70). Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole, in *From Desolation to Splendour: Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape* (1977), note that, after the completion of the CPR, "a host of European and eastern Canadian painters" came to British Columbia to paint the mountains, encouraged both by the assistance of the company itself, and by the challenge of a landscape that offered extremes of beauty and the excitement of wilderness adventure (48-49). Later in the decade, Spragge published a series of "Sketches of British Columbia" in the *Dominion Illustrated* as part of this tradition.

For both Spragge and Macdonald, the mountains provide a context for something beyond the passive, visual tourism of the railway journey. Spragge embarks on a steamer and camping trip up the Columbia River to the Kootenay Plains, in an early version of the recreational tourism that would bring Susan St. Maur (the Duchess of Somerset) to the same region in the 1890s. Macdonald transfers herself from the interior of the private car to direct experience of the environment on the front of the train, travelling through the mountains on the cowcatcher and establishing a trend that countless other upper-class tourists would follow—once they had signed the CPR's damages waiver (E.J. Hart 29). For both women, the mountains provide a region in which the woman traveller leaves the railway car to undertake a more active form of travel.[28]

This mountain travel, however, takes very different forms. On the face of it, Spragge's camping trip appears to offer greater opportunity for direct experience of the landscape. Leaving the line of the railway, she and her husband embark on the steamer *Duchess* at Golden City (now Golden, BC), travelling up the Columbia River to the Columbia Lakes and the Kootenay Plains. However, the trip retains the touristic flavour of the book's earlier passages by extending the railway tourist's journey into a commodified wilderness experience, offered as an example of the

recreation made possible by the new accessibility of the Kootenay region. The narrative's initial publication in *The Week* presents both the mountain camping trip and railway journey in terms of the attractions offered by the company, under the titles "Jottings off the CPR" and "Jottings on the CPR."

Spragge's camping trip is recreational tourism. It combines the upper-class leisure activities of riding and visiting country houses (here, ranches) in a park-like landscape with the excitement of the neophyte camping in the wilderness, glorying in her "first experience of being under canvas," although never far from masculine protection. "I found that a tent, comfortably arranged by my husband's skilful hands, was an abode not at all to be despised in favourable weather," she confides (109). The adventure of this journey, here as throughout her narrative, lies in the novelty of the experience for the eastern newcomer and in the aesthetic beauty of the landscape. A windstorm lends the slightest soupçon of excitement to the experience of the 'neophyte' in the West:

> Visions of falling trees and branches mingled in my dreams with the flapping of canvas and the rattle of thousands of pine needles upon the tent. I sighed for the stability of a house, and vowed vows never to camp again. These were strengthened and confirmed at midnight by the reverberations of thunder in the distant mountains; a few minutes later, the storm broke over our devoted heads, lightning flashed, thunder pealed, trees groaned, and rain descended in torrents. This storm was truly disturbing to an outsider in more than one sense of the word. I trembled for the tent. . . . (116)

Spragge's narrative lacks the playfulness that functions to distance the threat of the wilderness landscape in FitzGibbon's narrative, but the combination of park-like landscape and ranch visits shape Spragge's camping trip as recreational-tourism-in-nature, rather than as a confrontation with the wilderness.

In his study of the ideas surrounding the concept of adventure, Green suggests that "[s]ports and holidays" is a category similar to "travel and exploration," with the difference that the former "offers a milder dose of danger, a more limited scope of action"; Green cites mountain travel as a particularly attractive sport and holiday adventure towards the end of the nineteenth century (61). Spragge's mountain camping trip is thus of a piece with the railway journey, a holiday experience her readers can repeat, as her many encounters with other sporting parties suggests. Because it is being offered to her readers as an imitable experience, Spragge's narrative lacks the kind of anxiety that surfaces in FitzGibbon's narrative; the context of railway-inspired tourism and the domestification of the landscape as 'park' serve to distance the 'wilderness' of an unsettled landscape. However, by describing ladies' travels in terms of escorted protection, emotional restraint and aesthetic reward, Spragge's camping trip, like FitzGibbon's return journey from the contract, suggests that one of the textual strategies for ladies representing themselves in a wilderness landscape is to minimize both the 'wilderness' effect of the landscape, and the emotional and physical depths of their response to it. In both cases, what might otherwise be wilderness travel is packaged as recreation.

In contrast to Spragge, Lady Macdonald never leaves the railway. However, the second part of her article presents a significant shift from the subtextual political agenda of the prairie journey. The first half of Macdonald's narrative is, as I have suggested, punctuated by an assortment of political stopping-points that follow one after the other until the climactic and touristically exotic meeting with the Blackfoot at Gleichen. This event, which provides a climax for the first half of the narrative, offers both the romantic and ethnographic spectacle of a meeting with the famous Crowfoot (complete with mock battle), and also an opportunity for the prime minister to demonstrate the political acumen which has, by both his stated triumph of building the railway and his unstated but implicit triumph of subduing the former inhabitants of the region, made the journey possible. Women, in this part of the narrative, appear only fleetingly. They are listed last, "nearly forgotten," when the narrator introduces the members of the party, and the narrator's own activities appear frivolous or irrelevant to the main "business" of the party (222). She wishes one solitary railway inspector a more interesting future, and is reproved because "that means a smash" (222). She breaks in on the Chief's "earnest talk" at Port Arthur with the frivolous suggestion that they abandon the tour to indulge in mining speculation (223), and later expresses relief, at the end of the Gleichen conference with the Blackfoot, that they can finally eat lunch (230). Apart from such eruptions, in this first half of the narrative the style tends towards the observational and informative, and the narrator's desires are often repressed or deferred (223, 225, 230).

However, Macdonald's title alerts her readers to the fact that this is not only a journey "By Car" but also one "By Cowcatcher." With the change in landscape, from the tame gliding waters of the Ottawa River in the narrative's opening paragraph, to the rushing waters of mountain torrents, the narrative itself changes. It no longer overtly treats the progress of that civilization represented in the opening paragraph's tableau of warm night, dark waters and the Parliament buildings; instead, it focusses on the narrator's plunge through the wilderness. Serious political "business" (222) gives way to excitement and sensation. As the party moves into the mountains beyond Banff, the narrator's character rises to prominence in the article. The mode is no longer informative but experiential, with an increasing emphasis on physical sensation and freedom.

The minor eruptions of the first part of the narrative have gradually increased, as has the narrator's participation in the journey: early in the narrative, she regards her surroundings from the "end platform" (219) of the train; leaving Calgary, she rides in the engine and tries out the whistle; at Laggan (present-day Lake Louise), she decides, against the advice of the "sensible, level-headed" men who accompany her party, to transfer herself to the cowcatcher for the ride through the mountains. The traveller becomes increasingly involved in the journey as a physical experience. While the visual beauty, scale and variety of the mountain scenery remain foremost, senses other than the visual come into play: sudden silence (298) and the sound of her own laughter (299), the feel of the wind (298), the smell of smoke (303) or the fragrance of pine and spruce (305), the tactile feel of the landscape passing and of the engine behind her. References to her own physical sensations become more and more

common, more a part of the travel experience: "I hear the engineer piling in fuel, and whistle with shrillest note. Then, with trebly quickened pace, we dart along in the sunshine. For a second only I feel the quickening of the heart-pulse, and a hot colour mounts to my face" (299). At moments, she and the train seem one: "for a moment, my heart beats quickly as I feel the breaks tighten" (302). No longer is the railway traveller merely a "human parcel" (Schivelbusch 45); she now controls the journey and her own fate:

> With a firm right hand grasping the iron stanchion, and my feet planted on the buffer beam, there was not a yard of that descent in which I faltered for a moment. If I had, then assuredly in the wild valley of the Kicking Horse River, on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, a life had gone out that day! (Macdonald 298-99)

Within the text, at least, the traveller has become an agent, an active participant in the journey. Travel is once more travail, hard physical work to be faced without flinching, the value of which is measured by the traveller's own strength of purpose.

At first, the rhetoric of the narrative encourages the reader not to take the escapade too seriously: it is an "unlucky moment" (235) when the narrator's attention is drawn to the cowcatcher; she is warned "not to play tricks" (296) when she tries out the engine whistle. The Chief pronounces the whole enterprise "rather ridiculous . . . [and] dangerous as well," although he gives his consent (297). Later he joins her on the cowcatcher, and she notes that "[i]t is a comfort . . . to find someone else wilful. . . . I felt not so bad after all!" (300). The effect of these comments, initially, is to present her decision to ride on the cowcatcher as a lark, a joke—nothing to be taken too seriously. As in FitzGibbon's description of wilderness canoe travel, the narrative tone is playful: this will be fun. However, these male comments also characterize the narrator's impulse as something outside the regular, ordered structure of the railway journey, the civilized life of politics and serious male "business" (222). As in Anna Jameson's "wild plans" for northern travel, in Macdonald's article there is a heightened sense of willful liberation from restraint. The woman traveller has broken out of the safe confines of everyday life and normal, structured travel into a realm of sensation and adventure.

Buzard has suggested that, in the nineteenth-century idea of the journey as a vacation, "travel" was seen to offer precisely this opportunity:

> . . . travel offers us channels for those energies that must remain pent up in our domestic rounds. It stimulates active imaginative impulses and invites us to indulge them before returning home: we multiply events *innocently*, and set out on adventures. . . . Travel, in sum, has become an ameliorative *vacation*, which . . . promises us a time or imaginary space out of ordinary life . . . (102; italics in original)

This idea of the journey as an authorized escape (the Chief's consent is sought and given) from the restrictions of ordinary domestic life is precisely the assumption underlying critical and historical suggestions that women travellers found, in travel outside England, the opportunity to escape the constraints of femininity (Foster 24). In fact, as much of this dissertation aims to show, many women travellers in Canada

brought their constraints with them in their own ideas of appropriate behaviour for subjects of their class and racial status, and they perpetuated these constraints in their writing. Macdonald's narrative, however, creates a rhetorical space which constructs the mountain journey as something more than a rejuvenating break from everyday experience. In her telling, it becomes a daring adventure. The mountain setting offers an ideal context for this construction, given its characterization in CPR tourism literature as a haven for sport and adventure.

The cowcatcher segment of Macdonald's narrative is a powerful piece of writing. Although materially the traveller is still being carried by the machine, rhetorically she has escaped both the confines of the railway car and the male solicitude that has surrounded her journey thus far. She rides there in the face of objections from six observers (including the engineer [304]) in the space of ten pages. For much of the way, she is the sole occupant of the cowcatcher, although at various points she is accompanied by railway superintendents, other members of their party, and even the Chief. However, the emphasis on the narrator's internal sensations—physical and emotional—tends to efface the others from the narrative, and the journey becomes a predominantly solitary one. Thus although Macdonald is rarely left alone, and never leaves the railway, the narrative mobilizes the rhetoric of solitary wilderness adventure, with all its extremes of emotion and physical trial:

> Never to be forgotten is that ride, all alone, on the cowcatcher down the valley of the Thompson! Though strong of nerve and will, the sight of those slender rails—always on a heavy down grade—gleaming on the precipice brink as far as I could see ahead, was somewhat startling—not a bush or blade to break the edge of the stern declivities, or to soften the dull-coloured steeps that rose from the ledge we travelled on. However, no failing of heart—no reeling of brain must be allowed. No human succour could come near—no cry could be heard, no sign seen—but then! how glorious was the feeling of daring risk, the thrill of shooting downwards with the flashing of sunlight and the glancing of water before me, and that immense shadowless expanse at my feet! (307-08)

Much of the energy of the narrative lies in the juxtaposition of these two feelings, an oscillation between exhilaration and heart-wrenching fear.

Martin Green suggests that "to engage in adventure means to engage in violence, but associated with violence are certain kinds of virtue, like leadership, cunning, endurance, courage, and so on" (4). What is at stake for the adventurer, then, is the performance of these life-affirming virtues in the face of danger and violence. However, as Green also notes, in nineteenth-century European cultures the idea of adventure as a concept was linked to male citizenship and the constitution of male subjectivity (18). The male adventurer, then, ran risks in order to prove he was a man. The adventurous woman, if she succeeded, ran the risk of being perceived as not-woman, not-feminine;[29] if she failed, she did so because she was, foolishly, trying to be what she was not. The woman who sought out solitary adventure, then,

was by definition ridiculous, unlucky, irresponsible. She risked not only her own frail self but also her potential male rescuers.

Writing a lady's adventure in this gendered context required the writer to invoke the danger and the violence that, according to Green, is a central motif of the discourse of adventure (17-30), in order to capitalize on the ways in which that discourse constructs subjectivity. At the same time, the writer had to avoid the ways in which either success *or* failure would threaten the writer's femininity. However, Green further suggests that "[p]layfulness and violence are always the two faces of adventure" (15); if FitzGibbon displaces violence and retains only playfulness for her travelling narrator, Lady Macdonald evokes both, negotiating a fine line between the thrill of serious danger—which must, when deliberately sought out by a lady, appear irresponsible—and the humorous entertainment of the mock-heroic.

The playful tone with which the narrator flouts the comments and warnings that greet her decision to ride on the cowcatcher functions initially to contain any sense of danger accompanying the scheme. Instead, the stakes are raised gradually as the journey progresses. As the idea of just sitting on the cowcatcher becomes ordinary, the landscape becomes more challenging. The train travels through a forest fire (304), then a "wet" tunnel full of pouring springs, which the narrator faces alone (305); the threat of a landslide is raised (309). Finally, one of her fellow riders is actually struck when the train hits a pig (311).[30] Although the traveller remains on the train, riding on the cowcatcher allows her to encounter first-hand the fires, floods, geographical disasters, and danger from animals which characterize the wilderness adventure. The hazard of the experience is real,[31] unlike the contained and titillating spectre of danger raised by Spragge's brushes with famous savages and neophyte fears of windstorms. Like most wilderness ordeals, riding the cowcatcher is at least partly a test of character and endurance. The experience provides self-knowledge as well as exhilaration and spectacle: crossing the 180-foot-high trestle at Surprise Creek, Macdonald is satisfied to find that she has a "good head" for heights (302).

However, as this sense of danger increases, the narrative also alternates between, on the one hand, the exhilarated thrill of the experience and, on the other, comic, staged vignettes which foreground the discursive conflict between the lady traveller and the mountain adventure. When the other passengers come forward to check on her, they make what is described as "a morning call"; the Chief is invited to "step up and take a drive" (299). The rhetoric is that of the polite social outing, and calls attention to the gap between that conventional ladies' activity and Macdonald's present escapade. At a later point,

> . . . as we emerge into sunlight again, and stop just beyond the tunnel, I see a party of young English sportsmen standing near the roadside. They have evidently just climbed the bank, guns in hand, leaving a large canoe with two Indian paddlers on the lake below. Fine, tall young Saxons they are, in sporting attire somewhat the worse for long travel, but very conventional in style notwithstanding. Just imagine the feelings with which these well-regulated young men beheld a lady, bareheaded, and with an umbrella, seated in front of an engine, at the

> mouth of a tunnel in the Gold Range of British Columbia! I am sorely afraid I laughed outright at the blank amazement of their rosy faces, and longed to tell them what fun it was; but not being "introduced, you know," I contented myself with acknowledging their presence by a solemn little bow—which was quite irresistible under the circumstances! (305)

Shortly thereafter, an American mule-train driver passes by:

> Never shall I forget the expression on that man's face as he steadily regarded me, seated composedly on the cowcatcher, surrounded with flowers, a plate of bread-and-butter on a candle near by, taking afternoon tea. (306)

The narrative here presents the lady traveller as spectacle. Rather than focussing the reader's point of view only through the narrator, the narrative invites the reader to see the woman traveller from the perspective of these perfect types of the wilderness hero: the "[f]ine, tall young Saxons" so typical of the adventure stories described by Green and by Moyles and Owram, on the one hand, and the American frontiersman, hero of the West, on the other. Until now, the wilderness has been their territory, and they have won through the mountains to this moment, after "long travel" (304) by canoe or mule train—only to find themselves confronting the picture of English ladyhood erupting, like a figurehead on the 'prow' of the train, into the middle of their romantic wilderness experience.

These passages serve several purposes in the narrative. By encouraging the reader to envision the unruffled and composed lady traveller, they reassure Macdonald's audience that, despite the extremes of exhilaration and fear, and despite the wilderness adventure in progress, the lady is uncompromised, instantly recognizable *as* lady. Unlike the young Saxons, she is not "somewhat the worse for long travel" (305). However, in confronting the stereotypical figures of wilderness adventure with the figure of the travelling lady, these passages also signal her intrusion into their myth, her appropriation of their imaginative space. The humour of these passages rests in the displacement of the domestic tableaux from feminine middle-class society into the midst of masculine wilderness exploits. For these *are* tableaux, staged and performed by the traveller, who is deliberately confronting the wilderness with all the markers of femininity. The "solemn little bow" (305) and the image of the lady "composedly . . . taking afternoon tea" (306) are quite at odds with the exhilaration and vivid energy of her descriptions of the actual travel experience and her adoption of the persona of the insouciant adventurer, speaking of her mountain crossing "carelessly, as if speaking of a stroll around a village" (306). These passages position the reader with the lady traveller, vicariously sharing her joke on the wilderness genre and its inhabitants. She playfully revels in the opposition between the wilderness through which the train passes and the civilization she so iconically represents in these tableaux, but the narrative also undermines that binary opposition: the lady traveller so posed on the cowcatcher, after all, is the same who grasped the iron stanchion and planted her feet solidly, unfaltering as the train plunged through Kicking Horse Pass. The traveller's adventure here denotes the

railway's success, which has brought civilization to the wilderness, and transformed that wilderness into the playground of a nation.

For although Macdonald was not the first to ride a cowcatcher through the western mountains,[32] she did become an influential example of the adventure that the CPR made possible. In *A Social Departure*, Sara Jeannette Duncan notes that "a certain Superintendent of Mechanics interceded for us" by invoking Lady Macdonald as a precedent, when an engineer refuses to allow Orthodocia and her companion to ride the cowcatcher (44). Duncan's title plays upon the social transgression that women's travel continued to represent, in some quarters, as late as the 1890s; in this context, Lady Macdonald serves a useful precedent, not only for riding the cowcatcher, but also for travel as a womanly activity. There were other accounts of cowcatcher-riding in the years following Lady Macdonald's escapade. Only six months after the publication of Macdonald's narrative, Lucius O'Brien's article, "The Grandeur of the Rockies," which included an account of riding through the Rogers Pass on the front of a locomotive, appeared in the *British Colonist*. Other cowcatcher riders included Susan St. Maur, the author of *Impressions of a Tenderfoot during a Journey in Search of Sport in the Far West* (1890), and Lady Minto, whose ride on the cowcatcher, in 1900, during the governor general's tour of the west, is related in Harry Graham's journal, *Across Canada to the Klondyke* (1984) (32-36). Unlike Duncan, who invokes Macdonald as a precedent for her own travels, Douglas Sladen (1858-1947) felt he had to go Lady Macdonald one better. In *On the Cars and Off* (1895), Sladen describes being egged on to follow Lady Macdonald's example:

> Most places in the world are oppressed by having to live up to the memory of some illustrious personage who has visited them. . . . In the Selkirks you suffer from Lady MacDonald [sic], or I should say Lady Earnscliffe. The very porters know her description of the line by heart. Lady MacDonald, it appeared, had gone down the Loop on the cow-catcher in front of an engine. Wishing to show us the height of hospitality, Mr. Marpole, the divisional superintendent, invited us to do ditto. There was no engine at hand with a cow-catcher attached, but he said this did not signify; we should be all right on the platform to which the cow-catcher ought to be attached; the platform was only about a foot wide, and had nothing to hold on to, but he did not seem to think this signified either. "If an old lady like that can do it," said Mr. Marpole, with a merry twinkle in his eye, "surely young people like you can venture." So off we started. When we were on the mile-long trestle, he observed cheerfully that it would not be thought right to take a passenger train at the rate we were going. We felt all the time as if the engine was a big dog which we were leading, doing its best to tug itself loose, and the breeze it made swept up our legs as if they had been ventilators. But we did get back, and then Mr. Marpole divulged that Lady MacDonald had sat in an armchair made fast to a platform built out on the cow-catcher. (290-91)

Lady Macdonald's daring adventure in 1886 has within a few years become a repeatable tourist experience—so repeatable, in fact, that in Sladen's account the danger and risk of the experience must be heightened. Here there is no cowcatcher, the train is going faster, and they lack the safety of a chair and handhold. The taunt to follow the example of an "old lady" rests on the assumption that anything an "old lady" does hardly constitutes a challenge for the male traveller; rather than invoking Macdonald as a precedent as Duncan does, in Sladen's writing Macdonald is a previous, lesser traveller whose exploits must be surpassed.

The reception of Lady Macdonald's cowcatcher ride varied. Joseph Pope, the prime minister's secretary, accompanied her on the cowcatcher part of the way and commented in his memoirs on her "characteristic imprudence" (56). However, Sladen was not the only writer to challenge, however obliquely, the extent to which Macdonald's escapade was 'really' dangerous. The Toronto *Week*[33] was more sardonic: "This was a true stroke of genius; for, attesting in so public and unmistakable a manner the substantial character of the road, it has served effectually to dissipate unfounded rumours as to its insecurity" (576). The journey could not have been dangerous, for it was undertaken by a lady traveller.

Few nineteenth-century women travel writers openly confront either the sexual dangers implicit in female journeys beyond the borders of civil society or the "historical link between female wandering and promiscuity" that Lawrence identifies as the discursive baggage of the female traveller. FitzGibbon displaces the unbridled female sexuality implied by the wandering woman onto the figures of the indigenous women in her text. Jameson travelled with a stiletto concealed about her person (Scadding 12), but her narrative asserts that "I never in my life felt more security" (3: 289). Spragge's account of a recreational camping trip never actually leaves civilization: her narrative is populated with ranch-owners and guides and sportsmen, and her campsites are "comfortably arranged by my husband's skilful hands" (109). Macdonald's narrative also describes a journey on which she is accompanied by her husband, a journey that does not leave the railway, although it does move beyond the domestic space of the private railway car. In her account of riding the cowcatcher through the Rockies, however, Macdonald overtly evokes the very ideas which Green identifies as constitutive of the discourse of adventure in the late nineteenth century: freedom (Green 18), transgression (24-25), heightened sensation (55), playfulness (15), and violence (17-30).

Given the sexual connotations of adventure, freedom, wandering and transgression, and the heightened physical sensation and exhilaration that characterize Macdonald's account, it is tempting to read her ride through the Rockies as a sexual encounter. As Buzard notes in his work on European tourism and as Annette Kolodny has shown in *The Lay of the Land*, male travel writers frequently constructed travel in terms of the sexual possession of a feminized landscape. Although Macdonald's experience is not phrased in terms of sexual possession, the physicality of her response to the experience does lend it an erotic quality. The "huge engine" (235) starts the journey with "a terribly big throb" (298), "glides into the pass of the

Kicking Horse River" (298), "plunges into a few moments' darkness" as it enters a "wet" tunnel (305), and finally "strike[s] the canyon of the Fraser" (307). The train's conventionally phallic imagery is heightened by this sense of interiority, of travelling *through* a landscape "in the heart of a stupendous mountain range" (301). The traveller, as I have noted above, reacts physically to the combination of the train's movements and to the landscape itself: the engineer piles on fuel, the sun comes out, and she responds with "a quickening of the heart pulse, and a hot colour mounts to my face" (299); later, "my heart beats quickly as I feel the brakes tighten, and the engine bear on with a quiet, steady, slower rush" (302). Her own sense that her delight in the experience is "wilful" and "bad" (300) heightens the narrative's sense of erotic transgression. Although the text does look forward to the arrival at the coast, it ends with a backward glance at the climax of the journey, a breathlessly overwhelming rush of increasing speed and increasing sensation:

> On we go, speeding forward to the coast, meeting the sweet breath of ocean mingled with rich scent of pine boughs, their delicate tips waving welcome as we pass—on, on, steadily, swiftly down to the sea! More speed, and we fly forward, past rock and river, slope, grass-land, and lakelet; more speed, and the blending of forest colours grows bewildering in the summer air; still more, and it is all one line of mingled blues and greens as we sweep down to the sparkling beauty of that distant ocean, and see the flash of its bright waters on the red sands of the bay below! (311)

In the text these passages are dispersed over the fourteen-page account of Macdonald's cowcatcher ride, and they are interspersed with descriptions of the communities at which the train stops for the night, accounts of the geography of the CPR line, discussions with her companions and encounters with people such as the "tall young Saxons" and the American muleteer. This dispersal reduces their cumulative effect.

However, as Green acknowledges, the idea of adventure has sexual connotations that are difficult to escape (21-22). Buzard further notes the historical link between sex and travel, a link inherited from the Grand Tour, which had come to be seen as providing young men with an opportunity to gain sexual experience and confidence through easy, non-binding liaisons with women abroad (130). Figurative seduction of a feminized landscape was only one dimension of the sexual desire implicit in the act of travel, and, Buzard notes, "nineteenth-century sensibilities were more likely to feel that if 'authentic travel' could be compared to sex, then respectable women could never seek it and should not be permitted to try" (152). Given the extent to which women's social identity depended upon their public reputations for morality and purity, the containment strategies employed by FitzGibbon and Spragge to distance themselves from the sexual implications of wilderness travel are entirely reasonable. What is interesting is the extent to which Lady Macdonald's writing mobilizes the very elements—fear, exhilaration, physical sensation, transgression—which FitzGibbon and Spragge avoid.

FitzGibbon's use of light comedy to distance the travelling woman from the cultural implications of wilderness travel betrays the gendered anxiety underlying her text, an anxiety revealed by the comic transformations the narrator undergoes on her return from the contract and by the displacement of sexual desire onto the indigenous women encountered on that return journey. Lady Macdonald's journey was a much shorter and more circumscribed one, but perhaps because it was shorter and more circumscribed, because she never really leaves the train or the protection of the men of her party and her actual contact with the landscape is fleeting, perhaps for these reasons her *representation* of the journey plays so adeptly with the implications and contradictions attendant on the lady in the wilderness. There are so few *literal* contacts with the wilderness (her encounters with the men of the wilderness, the sportsmen and the American muleteer are shaped by a performance of reserved upper-class femininity) that her public representation in the text can indulge in depths of physical and emotional sensation atypical for the lady traveller in the Canadian wilderness.

Spragge and Macdonald were travelling at a point in time when the North-West was becoming a settlement frontier and a tourism destination. Their own presence in and writing about the region are marked by that historical transition, but they also played a part in reproducing it. As I have shown in this chapter, the CPR deeply influenced the travel patterns and narrative representation of the Canadian North-West, almost as soon as it began to offer its services. Although the railway offered women travellers a means of preserving feminine standards of deportment and appearance on their travels, it also affected their access to the landscape's potential for adventure, for recreation and for self-representation. As women travelled beyond the regions made accessible by the railway, other means of transportation would shape both their experiences, and how they wrote about them.

Notes

1. FitzGibbon's *A Trip to Manitoba* was followed by the narratives by Spragge and Macdonald, which I shall consider in this chapter, as well as by Mary Hall's description of *A Lady's Life on a Farm in Manitoba* (1884) and Mary Carbutt's account of travel by the CPR eastward from Vancouver to Banff and back in *Five Months' Fine Weather in Canada, Western U.S. and Mexico* (1889). Women's travel writing focussing exclusively on the west coast began to appear in the 1880s: Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore describes travel through British Columbia en route to *Alaska: Its Southern Coast and the Sitkan Archipelago* (1885) and Caroline Leighton offers an account of *Life at Puget Sound with Sketches of Travel in Washington Territory, British Columbia, Oregon and California 1865-1881*. Other narratives of travel in eastern Canada only, in the years before the completion of the CPR, include Emily Faithfull's book *Three Visits to America* (1884), which describes journeys in eastern Canada two years before the transcontinental railway was completed, Lady Clara Rayleigh's account of *The British Association's visit to Montreal, 1884* (1885), Lady Duffus Hardy's description of her travels *Through Cities and Prairie Lands* (1881), A.S.'s narrative of a journey in search of good health in *A Summer Trip to Canada* (1885), and Eliza B. Chase's account of travel in the maritimes, *Over the Border: Acadia, the Home of "Evangeline"* (1884).

2. Between 8 July 1886 and 10 March 1887, a series of twenty-one articles appeared in the Toronto *Week* under the titles "Jottings Along the C.P.R." and "Jottings Off the C.P.R."

3. This reference is to the series of articles in the *Dominion Illustrated*. According to Diana Chown, the location of most of Spragge's work is unknown (31), although some of her sketches are in the Documentary Art collection in the NAC.

4. Louise Reynolds, Macdonald's biographer, ascribes to her several unsigned articles appearing in *Murray's Magazine* following the publication of "By Car and by Cowcatcher." Reynolds claims that these articles are "very much in Agnes' style and reveal inside knowledge of the Macdonald government" (115). The articles appeared under the titles "Canadian Topics" and "Men and Measures in Canada." "On a Canadian Salmon River" and "On a Toboggan" appeared under Macdonald's own name.

5. Two years after her husband's death, Macdonald left Canada to live with her daughter in England; until her death in 1920, she divided her time between England and Italy, where she wintered for her the sake of her daughter's health, and travelled in Canada and Europe.

6. Susanna Moodie, FitzGibbon's grandmother, commented in correspondence with her sister, Catharine Parr Traill, that FitzGibbon's book "had capital reviews . . . in some of the first English periodicals, but Rose says that he can't sell it at all here" (3 Jan. 1881; 343).

7. Unless otherwise stated in the text, all references to Spragge's narrative are to the book edition.

8. See, for example, coverage in the Toronto *Mail* between 12 and 28 July 1886.

9. Throughout the nineteenth century, John Murray's publishing house produced travel and exploration narratives, including the authorized narratives of such arctic explorers as John Franklin.

10. Macdonald's article has been excerpted and reprinted in Moyles, *Improved by Cultivation* (134-42).

11. The relationship between science, the railway, and expansionism has been amply demonstrated by Suzanne Zeller and by Doug Owram. One example will suffice here: John Macoun, on a botanical expedition to the Thunder Bay area, was on the lake steamer *Frances Smith* at the same time as the 1872 survey party headed by Sandford Fleming, which was to travel westward to decide on the transcontinental railway's route through the mountains. Macoun joined the party, and made a preliminary botanical survey of the route of their travels, through Yellowhead Pass (Grant 21-23, 35). Although the proposed railway route changed several times before the railway was completed, Macoun became an enthusiastic proponent of expansionism and of the southern prairies' agricultural potential, and was at least partly responsible for the determination, on the part of railway officials and government, to find a way to exploit the southern prairies (Zeller 251-54).

12. See Patricia Jasen's analysis of the relationship between tourists, sportsmen and indigenous peoples in Chapter 6 of *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*.

13. Indeed, many of these women spent their lives working to further their husbands' careers (and thus their families' financial survival), not only in terms of domestic management but also through social activities which furthered informal contacts throughout the social network of the middle and upper classes. Although Victorian society was overtly ideologically structured in terms of separate spheres, in practice those spheres necessarily overlapped, and a man's career could be furthered by the opportunities his wife's skill in civil society made available. In addition, many careers assumed the existence of a wife's unpaid labour: Emily Murphy, author of *Janey Canuck in the West*, certainly discovered after marrying her husband that "minister's wife" was a

full-time job (Mander 29), and northern missionaries were encouraged to marry, although their wives almost never received remuneration for their work (Kelcey 191).

14. Travel literature was not, of course, the only medium of representation shaped by the railway. Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole note that the CPR encouraged artists to paint the mountains of British Columbia by offering free passes and occasional commissions; this encouraged central Canadian artists to develop a truly national aesthetic (48). Diana Chown has analyzed the effects of CPR patronage and the artistic opinions of CPR General Manager William Cornelius Van Horne on the development of Canadian painting of the Rocky Mountains (51-90). Hart, in his study of CPR publicity literature, also describes CPR patronage of both painters and photographers in the first half-century of the railway's existence (31-39, 107).

15. This shift towards a more southern orientation of travel, and the retreat of the frontier westward and northward as settlement progressed, also resulted in a gradual split between what constituted the "West," and what became the "North."

16. This journey was to set the pattern for the rest of her life, however; for many years thereafter, Spragge maintained a summer residence in Golden, British Columbia, and spent her winters in Toronto ("Spragge, Mrs.").

17. As E.J. Hart observes, this emphasis on Vancouver Island as a transplanted bit of old England was also promulgated in CPR publicity literature, notably in the pamphlet *The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the East Across the Mountains, Prairies and Rivers of Canada* (1887), which Hart suggests was written largely by Van Horne (27). However, the idea of the settlements on the west coast, beyond the mountain barrier, as a figurative return to England is featured even in Fleming's earlier narrative. The CPR literature may have been instrumental in disseminating and perpetuating this image of the west coast, as Hart claims, but it was exploiting already existing patterns of regional representation.

18. Schivelbusch notes the development of reading by rail passengers, and the related introduction of railway station bookstalls and specific lines of literature designed for and marketed to the railway traveller; he considers these further evidence for the alienation of the traveller from the travelled landscape (66-67).

19. I am not claiming that there were no earlier forms of transportation to be replaced in the North-West; I am suggesting that most of the CPR's passengers would not have considered York boats and Red River carts "familiar" modes of transportation. Railway travel in the North-West did not require

widespread cultural accommodation to the sensations of a new travel technology, since the vast majority of the CPR's passengers, and particularly those who wrote about their travels, would by the late nineteenth century already have been familiar with railways in the European and American context.

20. The Pullman car was designed by George M. Pullman of Chicago as early as 1864, with convertible day-night railway accommodation, hinged upper berths folded into the ceiling of the car, and hinged seats and backs that could be made into lower berths. It was the North American standard for luxurious rail accommodation: opulent parlour cars were furnished with rich upholstery, rugs, hangings and inlaid panelling; elegant dining cars featured sumptuous meals. Pullman provided cars, staff and furnishings, leased to railways for a price. Often the car would simply be transferred from train to train on its journey, so that passengers did not have to make connections. However, Van Horne, the CPR's general manager, felt that the company could provide the same or better services more cheaply, and the CPR built its own sleeping, parlour and dining cars rather than lease from Pullman. The CPR claimed to outdo Pullman, offering larger berths and an extreme of luxury and quality of materials; the dining cars presented fine food, served on china and silver and linen, emphasizing luxury and sophistication, as well as exotic local delicacies (Hart 12-13). Although Spragge (26, 28) and Macdonald (216) both refer to their cars as "Pullman[s]," these cars were owned and operated by the CPR, and not by Pullman's company. In their descriptions of these railway cars, Spragge and Macdonald are writing in a literary context shaped in part by the CPR's extensive advertising campaign; images of the railway focus on the luxurious accommodations provided. Just as the making of pemmican or the operations of a dog sled were standard elements of wilderness travel literature of the North-West, so detailed descriptions of the opulent railway cars would become one of the generic set pieces of railway travel literature.

21. Schivelbusch notes, interestingly, that the widespread use of upholstered furniture dates from the period of railway development; the use of stuffing and springs to protect the traveller from the movement of the train spread to the use of similar furniture in the home (123).

22. Exceptions to this pattern of passivity, such as Sœur Lapointe's account of tracking a barge around the island at Grand Rapids on the Athabaska River, or Susanna Moodie's description of the physical ordeal of the walk to Dummer (*Roughing It* 477-88), seem for the most part to appear in narratives that describe migration or long residences in the wilderness. Active physical engagement with the work of travel, and the accompanying acquisition of skills, are thus represented in narratives which are structured by migration and adaptation, rather than by the departure-and-return trajectory of travel.

23. It should be noted that on one level this passivity on the woman traveller's part was shared by upper-class male travellers as well: Simpson records that the gentlemen as well as herself and Mrs. McTavish are carried by the Canadian voyageurs across one swampy area (30-31), and certainly the elite of fur trade and exploration expeditions, from John Franklin to George Simpson, typically rode as passengers in the centre of the large canoes and York boats. This was, in the nineteenth century, as much a marker of class as it was of gender (it was, after all, middle- and upper-class *ladies* who wrote the narratives which are our primary historical sources for the patterns of women's travel), and George Simpson would no more have thought of paddling his own canoe than he would have of driving his own coach. During this period, the *work* of travel was done by a labouring class. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, increasingly significant characteristics of the male wilderness hero were physical strength and endurance. The examples of John Franklin and Samuel Hearne, among others, had established a tradition of vigour and fortitude that manifested itself in the later writings of the Earl of Southesk and John McDougall, among others. By the turn of the century, physical strength and fortitude had become inseparable from the figure of the male wilderness hero, a figure variously subject to the discourses of muscular Christianity, the urban back-to-nature/fresh air/health movement (Schmitt), and the rise of Alpinism (Green 61-62). By 1903, it was unthinkable that Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., would *not* paddle his own canoe. Even in the early period, the elite male traveller who sat in the middle of the *canot du nord* was also the man who determined the itinerary and gave the orders from a higher position in fur-trade hierarchy than that of the men who paddled him; women, in the wilderness context, almost never had this power.

24. Aside from the always-present factor that women's socialization was different from men's, and thus the social factors that brought meaning to any experience would constitute that experience differently, Spragge also notes the segregation of female and male travellers. Early in the journey, when she joins the through train at Winnipeg, she describes the "Honolulu," a luxurious car which is "one of the handsomest Pullmans owned by the Company" (26). The decor is in velvet and carved cherry-wood, inlaid with brass, and featuring stained glass, marble basins, and even a small bath (26-27). This car, she discovers, is "intended to be occupied entirely by men" (26), and once the train starts Spragge is escorted to her seat in the "Selkirk," "a very common and ordinary Pullman compared with the other" (28). Spragge does not elaborate further.

25. For the most part, all the material included in the series of articles in *The Week* appears in *From Ontario to the Pacific*, with occasional refining of diction and reorganization of material. Additional material was added to the book when the narrative was republished: an introduction which summarizes

the construction and historical significance of the CPR; an extensive description, making up most of Chapter 7, of Banff and its facilities for tourism, recreation and health (50-59); a reproduction, from the Toronto *Mail*, of a government report on the mineral resources of British Columbia, which constitutes Chapter 11 (85-92); a lengthy description of a visit to the Catholic Mission on St. Mary's River (131-36); and an account, making up most of Chapter 19, of the return from the Kootenay Plains down the Columbia River to rejoin the steamer *Duchess* (151-63).

26. Given an audience aware that Macdonald was born in Jamaica, the name of the car evokes connotations of 'home'; I do not know whether the name of the car, which was given to the prime minister by Van Horne, was a deliberate allusion to Macdonald's birth colony.

27. See Hart, *passim*, and John Eagle, Chapter 7, for a discussion of the CPR's advertisement of its railway passenger service.

28. Both also stand at the beginning of a tradition of women's recreation in the mountain regions of Canada, although both draw upon earlier forms of representation; see Cyndi Smith's study of women alpinists in *Off the Beaten Track*.

29. In this context, Green notes that the adventurous girl is traditionally a tomboy, unfeminine; she crosses gender lines (225).

30. Macdonald writes that "[t]he Secretary averred that the body had struck him in passing" (310). Sir Joseph Pope, in his memoirs, states that the pig actually "passed *between my body and the post I was holding*" and asserts that "I have not ridden on a cow-catcher since" (56; italics in original).

31. There was nothing securing Lady Macdonald to her chair on the cowcatcher, and Pope seems to have no doubt that, had the pig which passed near actually struck him, he would have fallen off. Depending on where the train was, that would have resulted in injury, or even death.

32. Pierre Berton describes Sir Henry Whatley Tyler's habit of riding on the cowcatchers of locomotives on his visits to the United States, in the years before the CPR was built; Tyler was president of the Grand Trunk Railway, and in Berton's treatment the act of riding the cowcatcher is evidence of a male determination and fearlessness (*Last Spike* 32).

33. The Toronto *Mail* concurred, although the tone of the coverage of Lady Macdonald's exploit was more congratulatory than ironic ("Sir John" 1).

CHAPTER FOUR

"Me and Franklin"
Writing the Northern Adventure, 1890-1926

> Helen, I am going to be an Arctic explorer. If I carry out my plans I can next year be able to speak of Me and Franklin—for I am going to the Arctic Ocean. . . . *Think* of it Helen—your Betsy going to the land of the Midnight Sun within the Arctic Circle. (Taylor to Carver)

When Elizabeth R. Taylor (1856-1932) wrote of "Me and Franklin" in her 1892 letter to Helen Carver, she was invoking the most famous example in a tradition of male heroism, adventure and sacrifice dating back through centuries of exploration and fur-trade activity in the Canadian Arctic. It was not a tradition that made room for women. White women had only been a significant presence in the North-West for some eighty years, and the first of the Grey Nuns' northern missions was only twenty-five years old, when Taylor produced the first published account of travel in the North by a woman.[1] Her 1892 trip from Edmonton to Fort McPherson (then Peel's River Post) and back was subsequently repeated, with assorted side-trips and variations, by Emma Shaw Colcleugh (1846-1940) in 1894, by Agnes Deans Cameron (1863-1912) and her niece Jessie Cameron Brown in 1908, by Miriam Green Ellis (1881-1964) in 1922, and by Clara Coltman Rogers (Lady Vyvyan) (1885-1976) and Gwendolen Dorrien Smith (1883-1969) in 1926. Other women also travelled the Mackenzie River during this period,[2] but each of the women considered here produced travel narratives, in magazines, newspapers or book form; Taylor and Dorrien Smith were also artists. Each of these writers (except Taylor) also lectured about her travels.

This chapter begins with the assumption that the women who journeyed north for the "pleasure and profit" ("Mrs. Emma" 1) of travel found themselves in an historical and cultural space where the predominant historical figures, achievements, and adventures were masculine. Karen R. Lawrence, among others, has noted the development of a literary tradition in which the North was gendered masculine:

> Arctic exploration occurred throughout the nineteenth century, augmenting the Alpine literature of the sublime from the previous century and further establishing the northern sublime as a masculine realm of arduous adventure. (76 n4)

For women travellers, the very marketability of their narratives depended upon an imaginative conception of "North" which had "[n]o place for a woman."[3] However, women were not immune to the romantic appeal of northern adventure, as Elizabeth Taylor's letter to Helen Carver reveals, and each of these writers acknowledges the narrative and historical tradition that has shaped the land of her travels. Like the women travelling west on the CPR, women travelling north after 1890 relied on the recent development of transportation infrastructure to travel in a region already constructed, in literature and the popular imagination, as a space for male adventure.

As I have discussed above, when the CPR was constructed it shifted travel in the "North-West" to the new communities of the southern prairies, creating a region constituted by settlement and tourism. However, the HBC's development of a steamer network to supply its Mackenzie River posts provided women with summer access to a region whose northern communities and economy still remained those of the fur trade.

When women travel writers arrived in this region, they found themselves in an imaginative terrain whose popular narrative appeal had traditionally been as a wilderness space for male adventure and enterprise. However, their own travels were shaped, not by the seasonal rhythms of the fur trade and northern employment, but by the summer itinerary of the HBC steamers. This chapter will first briefly delineate the historical limits of white women's presence and participation in the development of the Canadian North, and the literary tradition which developed out of that history. Then it will examine women's published writings about travel in the Mackenzie valley, from Elizabeth Taylor's first narrative, published in 1894, to 1929, when travellers in the Arctic began to use air travel regularly. These travels and the narratives that describe them are shaped not only by the steamer network that gave women access to the Mackenzie River system, but also by the material conditions of publication, that is, by the venues through which women writers published their northern travel accounts.

White Women in the North: Access and Context

European women's presence in any numbers in the Western Arctic occurred relatively late in the history of white activity in the North. Before the twentieth century, most European activity in the Arctic was institutionally motivated: the fur trade was a monopoly enterprise, under the control of the HBC; missions of exploration were undertaken by the Royal Navy. The material exigencies of European travel to and in the Canadian North required the participation of these institutions, and as long as the region was viewed as an obstacle to win through, by the explorers, or a barren wilderness producing only furs, by the traders, there was no reason for them to make such travel available to women, even assuming women wanted to go. Certainly neither the Royal Navy nor the HBC knowingly offered employment to women in the Arctic. With the exception of Mrs. Sergeant's early residence on Hudson Bay in 1683-87, and of the winter visit in 1746-47 of Kitty Smith, wife of arctic explorer Francis Smith,[4] there were very few white women in Rupert's Land until the nineteenth-century arrival of the Selkirk settlers and the European wives of the fur traders. The other significant group of white women to travel in the North before the 1890s were those who came as missionaries, with either the Church of England Missionary Society or the Grey Nuns.

The Grey Nuns established a series of missions throughout the North-West, beginning with the mission at St. Boniface, Manitoba, in 1844. They established their

first Mackenzie River mission at Fort Providence, on Great Slave Lake, in 1867. In the ensuing fifty-eight years, the Grey Nuns established schools and hospitals at Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca (1874), Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake (1903), Fort Smith (1914), Fort Simpson (1916), and Fort McMurray (1916). The hospital at Aklavik was opened in 1925. According to Barbara Kelcey, the wives of Church of England missionaries were in the North as early as 1862, the earliest often native or mixed-blood women such as Julia McDonald, the wife of Archdeacon Robert McDonald, himself of mixed-blood. Selina Bompas (1830-1917) arrived at Fort Simpson in 1876, accompanied by Augusta Morris, her secretary and companion. Rose (Gadsby) Spendlove reached Fort Norman in 1881. By the 1890s, there was precedent within Church of England missions for both missionary wives and single women as mission workers, teachers, and nurses in the North (187-88).

Both the Church of England missionaries and the Grey Nuns were educated women, and, although mission workers' tasks were many (Kelcey notes that the recurring complaint in letters from mission workers is the lack of time to accomplish the work [53,85-86]), the survival of the missions depended on the support of eastern churches and the maintenance of links with eastern society. However, these communications rarely took the shape of published travel writings. As I have noted, once the Grey Nuns arrived in the North they tended to remain at their missions to provide the educative, domestic, or medical services they had come to offer. Their reports describe residence and mission work. Kelcey also acknowledges the lack of mobility for Church of England mission workers, confined in winter to the domestic space of their homes by the combination of their European garments and the weather conditions (45).

Thus, while unpublished diaries and other documents from the early period exist, including the account by Sœur Lapointe which I discussed in Chapter Two, women's travel writing about the North was not published by mission women in the early period. Lapointe's narrative was not excerpted in Duchaussois' history until 1919; Mère Marie-Anne Piché's narrative did not appear until 1912. Letters from Church of England mission workers were published before the turn of the century in *The Letter Leaflet of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada* (later published under the name *Living Message* [Kelcey 20]), describing the accomplishments of the missions, and encouraging further support by the Woman's Auxiliary of the MSCC and the woman's auxiliaries of individual congregations in the east (Kelcey 220). However, other material by white women about their experiences in the North appeared in the form of memoirs in a later period, and lies beyond the temporal scope of this study.[5]

As a result of this lack of pre-twentieth-century published material by the women who were in the North, the earliest women travel writers were travelling in a region which had no textual precedent as a space for women's activity. Americans Elizabeth R. Taylor and Emma Shaw Colcleugh were summer visitors whose social and professional connections gave them access to HBC transportation at a time when tourism was only beginning to be recognized as a possibility for the region.[6] They

were also the first women to publish material—primarily magazine and newspaper articles—on their travels in the Arctic. Agnes Deans Cameron, a Canadian journalist and publicist working in Chicago for the Western Canada Immigration Association (WCIA) (Pazdro 116), travelled with her niece Jessie Cameron Brown to Fort McPherson, returning by way of the Peace River country in 1908; her book-length narrative, *The New North: Being Some Account of a Woman's Journey through Canada to the Arctic* (*NN*) (1909), is an enthusiastic advocacy of northern settlement and development. Miriam Green Ellis, an Edmonton journalist, travelled to Aklavik in 1922, and over the next decade published newspaper and magazine articles about her travels and the people of the North. Two Englishwomen, Clara Coltman Rogers, later Lady Vyvyan, and Gwendolen Dorrien Smith, were drawn to the Alaskan wilderness in 1926; their reluctance to retrace their steps led them to travel by way of the Mackenzie, Rat, Bell, and Porcupine rivers through the Richardson mountains to Alaska, so that they could return south by steamer along the west coast. Vyvyan was already a published writer when they made the journey, but she did not publish her book *Arctic Adventure* until 1961; between 1929 and 1938, she published six periodical articles about the trip. Unlike the narratives by the Grey Nuns, which represent travel in the wilderness of the North-West as a sacrifice, the travellers' narratives describe journeys through a summer wilderness of great beauty and of scientific and social interest, with a romantic past history and vast potential for the future.

In the English literary tradition, women travel writers *per se* tend to be protestant, educated, middle- and upper-class white women. Their narratives, written for a metropolitan market, engage with the standards and concerns of middle-class Britain and North America. The early women travellers to the North were no exception. This chapter, then, is not a study of northern women, but rather a study of how women who were for the most part brief summer visitors to the region grappled with the popular, male-dominated representations of the North. At issue are questions not only of gender but also of class and race.

While most of the women discussed here were professional writers,[7] and have in fact been chosen for discussion because they published accounts of their travels, they were also travelling for the pleasure and adventure of the undertaking. They may have collected natural history specimens and ethnographic materials, taken observations, interviewed northerners, and kept sketchbooks and field notes, but none was 'sent' north to do a job; their travel was self-motivated, and each required considerable determination to accomplish her journey. HBC Governor Donald Smith wrote to Taylor's father that the trip "would greatly tax the endurance of a lady, and . . . would yet be an undertaking of great hazard to her health." In the end, both she and Emma Shaw Colcleugh required permission from HBC officials to travel with the company's supply lines. Agnes Deans Cameron's narrative expresses delight in finding that Thomas Cook and Son, the famous tour operators, are unable to provide her with information or passage to the Arctic (4); she, too, seeks out the HBC, which plans the journey, and provides an outfit and introductions to company officials en

route (7). By 1908, Cameron thus finds the logistics of travel more easily accessible to those without official business in the North, as an infant tourism industry is beginning to develop. The financial barriers women had to overcome to reach the North, however, had not changed: in the 1920s, journalist Miriam Green Ellis' editor at first refused to send her, from a belief either that there was no news in the North warranting the expense, or that she was the wrong person to send, but he did finally offer her a leave of absence, and agree to consider for publication whatever articles she wrote ("Down North" 2-3). Clara Vyvyan's narrative also relates the need to convince an authority figure, in this case her mother, that the trip warranted the sacrifice of her trust fund; in the end her mother's misgivings about the journey were allayed by their neighbour, an HBC official (*Arctic Adventure* 15), and Dorrien Smith financed her share of the trip by selling watercolour paintings en route. Certainly, in each case, the Western Arctic lay sufficiently off the beaten path that a woman traveller had to overcome a few obstacles; the *representation* of those obstacles in each narrative, however, underscores the traveller's daring and courage, the extent to which she is off the beaten track, and is thus providing her audience with a novel or unusual narrative.

Although women were rarely among the 'first' of European descent to travel in any of the wild regions of the world, the invocation of novelty was as important for women travellers as for any other travel writer. As Lawrence has acknowledged, the search for novelty is, paradoxically, a stereotypical convention of the literature of travel:

> The search to make it new is crucial to travel writing, from voyages of exploration to tourism. Even voyages of discovery betray anxiety that someone else's marker has preceded the explorer both geographically and textually. (24)

Women travelling in the North were particularly aware of the famous explorers and fur traders who preceded them: from Elizabeth Taylor, travelling in 1892, to Miriam Green Ellis, writing newspaper articles in the twenties, they each introduce major geographical landmarks and settlements with a thumbnail sketch of their discovery or establishment by the major figures of northern exploration and commerce. Even Vyvyan, who did not publish her narrative until 1961 and who shows the least interest in the history of the North, is haunted by the figure of a previous woman traveller who did not complete the journey Vyvyan and Dorrien Smith are attempting, west via the Rat, Bell, Porcupine, and Yukon rivers over the divide to Alaska. The earlier travellers, American and Canadian women, are far more interested in the history, and, like Cameron, acknowledge that they travel "[i]n the footprints of Back and Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie and Sir John Franklin, . . . treading the silent places" (377).

Even while citing a history of male presence in the region before them, however, these earlier women writers also emphasize the novelty of their own travels. Each presents herself as performing a 'first.' On Colcleugh's return, the *Edmonton Bulletin* (after interviewing her) described her side trip up the Peace River from Fort

Chipewyan to the Chutes: "This trip has never been heretofore made by any lady traveller, neither indeed has the trip to the delta of the McKenzie [sic] with one exception, that of Miss Taylor, daughter of Consul Taylor, who made the trip three years ago" ("Mrs. Emma" 1).[8] On her own side trip to Fond du lac, Saskatchewan, Cameron comments that "no white woman has yet traversed it to its eastern extremity and we would go if we had to work our passage at the sweeps of a scow" (*NN* 115); on the return journey, she claims that she and Brown are "the first white women who have penetrated to Fort Rae" (309).[9] The headlines of Miriam Green Ellis' article, "The Backyard of Canada," declare (erroneously) that she was, in 1922, "the First White Woman to Have Penetrated to Within 50 Miles of the Arctic Ocean Along the Mackenzie River" (2). The fact that the region was historically distinguished by male enterprise and adventure lent the "first" women's travels there a note of titillation and exoticism which *required* the acknowledgement of the historical "footprints of Back and Samuel Hearne," as it was precisely those footprints that marked the region as one where any adventure might happen. Like Friday's footprint on the sands of Crusoe's island, they signalled the possibility of something beyond the bounds of civilized domesticity.

Despite the fact that undertaking the journey itself seems to have challenged the limits heretofore imposed by femininity, women travellers to the Arctic did not all go with the idea of appropriating male roles. Taylor, for instance, seems to have accepted the limitations that the lack of transportation networks placed on her early ambitions for northern travel:

> . . . in those days a visit to the Mackenzie District from the States necessitated a winter at one of the far-off posts, and was not to be thought of for a woman unused to the rigor of an arctic winter. But with the completion of a railway, and the building of three small river steamers to transport supplies to the Far North, it became possible for me to make the trip to the Delta and back again in one season. ("Woman" 44)

Taylor was not the only woman to discover that the first obstacle to the North was the need for a means of conveyance considered appropriate for her gender.[10] However, the combination of her gender with the conditions of northern transportation structures her travels and her opportunities throughout the four-part article far more overtly than is the case in the later women's narratives. Crossing the Smith Portage in a privileged seat on an ox-drawn farm wagon (the other travellers are walking), she notes: "I could see all kinds of botanical treasures in the swamps and pine-barrens; but the mud-holes and submerged parts of the road made it impossible for me to follow on foot, and I kept my dry seat on the top of the wagon" (122). Later, after spending only two days at Fort McPherson, the northern terminus of her journey, she is forced to give up all she would prefer to do, for "[t]hat boat waited for no woman . . . and one could not expect the whole northern service of the Hudson Bay Company [sic] to be disarranged because one person wanted to catch butterflies, and botanize, and sketch, at the Delta" (235); her own activities dwindle to mere whimsy

in comparison to the "whole northern service" of the HBC's business. Later, at Fort Rae, she meets Alexis Beaulieu, the son of one of Franklin's men, and laments:

> As I listened to his adventures with the reindeer . . . I longed to be a boy, too, and set off on the hunt with the Indians. To be so near that fascinating country and yet unable to see it! But to think of it was useless. A few days of starvation and of exposure to the sudden cold storms that sweep down without warning on those lands, a winter in that severe climate, and trips by dog trains, might be all very well for a strong man, but I, who found three daily "square meals" of dried meat a trial, must meekly forego such joys and come out with the steamer. ("Woman" 305)

This passage is, significantly, the only one in her article in which Taylor uses the word "adventure," and it appears in relation to someone else's travels. Adventure, in this context, lies well beyond the reach of the HBC steamers, and thus well beyond Taylor's own reach. From her opening description of the newly accessible North, to this final statement of the limitations of her gender, Taylor's travels remain those of the HBC's supply steamers.

As Taylor's narrative acknowledges, the development of steamer transport in the North made the region far more accessible for the summer visitor. Reaching the Mackenzie River and the Western Arctic by land before the 1890s required a long and involved journey. Historically, the HBC's fur brigades travelled from York Factory on Hudson Bay to Norway House, located on Playgreen Lake at the north end of Lake Winnipeg, then followed the North Saskatchewan River to Cumberland House, and the Churchill River to Lake Ile à la Crosse. From the upper waters of the Churchill River, they proceeded over the height of land on the La Loche (or Methye) Portage to the Clearwater River, which flowed into the Athabasca above Fort McMurray. Northward, the Athabasca River offered river access to Lake Athabasca, and thence water flowed northward by way of the Slave River to Great Slave Lake, although the series of rapids downriver from Fort Smith required a sixteen-mile portage from Smith's Landing to the fort. From Great Slave Lake, the Mackenzie River provided access by water all the way to the Arctic Ocean (Comfort 15-16).

With the transfer of HBC lands to the Dominion of Canada in 1869-70, however, the disappearance of the company's monopoly, the increasing competition from free traders, and the Canadian government's commitment to a transcontinental railway led to the gradual adoption of more modern methods of transportation throughout the North-West. The original transcontinental line of the CPR passed through Calgary, partly as an attempt to establish a Canadian presence on the southern prairies in the face of American expansionism. However, in 1891, the CPR completed its branch line to the North Saskatchewan River. From this point on, cargo and passengers to the North travelled across the southern prairies, then north to Strathcona by rail. They then had to be transported by stage and wagon across the North Saskatchewan River to Edmonton, and 100 miles north along the Athabasca Trail to Athabasca Landing, on an elbow of the Athabasca River (Chalmers 63).

When Elizabeth Taylor travelled this route in 1892, she boarded the SS *Athabasca* (the first of that name, launched in 1888) at Athabasca Landing, and proceeded 165 miles down the Athabasca River as far as Grand Rapids. There, a series of rapids made the river impassable to steamer travel, so the HBC used open "sturgeon-head" scows to transport the cargo down the rapids, about 85 miles, to Fort McMurray (Comfort 206-07). From there the SS *Grahame*, then in its tenth year of service, carried Taylor north to Smith's Landing. She travelled over the Smith Portage in an ox-drawn wagon (Clara Vyvyan and Gwendolen Dorrien-Smith would cover the same ground by "roadster" thirty-four years later) and boarded the SS *Wrigley* (built in 1886) at Fort Smith, for the remainder of the trip to Fort McPherson.

The appearance of women's writing about the North thus seems, like that of women's writing about western Canada, to be directly linked to the development of mass transportation. It is not that women were not present in the Western Arctic before the development of the HBC Mackenzie River steamship transport, but that published writing by women about the region does not appear until after the development of a transportation network that allowed some semblance, however crude in the early years,[11] of 'civilized' shelter. As I have noted, the women who published early northern travel writing were not missionaries or long-term residents; narratives by the latter appeared much later, often in the form of memoirs. The first published narratives about the region by white women were those of summer travellers who returned to the South, where they had the time and facilities for writing, as well as access to publishers' markets. The ability to make the trip in one season, as Elizabeth Taylor notes, was significant in their decision to go north, because of the perceived hardships associated with passing a winter in the North and the temporal and financial costs of spending a whole year without communications and without employment. Further, the availability of steamer transport made it more likely for the HBC to accept the responsibility of allowing women to accompany their supply lines, which offered the only formal or regular transport in the region; it was much easier to allow a woman a place on a steamer than to agree to carry her and her baggage over innumerable portages during the period when HBC cargo was primarily transported on men's backs. Women's travels were thus facilitated by the HBC, and women travellers were often accompanied, more or less informally, by religious, HBC, or RCMP officials travelling the same route;[12] the information they gathered, then, came from the white male elite of the North, and they wrote of a northern summer journey shaped by the experience of steamer passage, rather than by the physical trials of travel in an inhospitable arctic terrain of snow and ice.

Even once the steamers made the North more accessible to women, the travellers who actually went north continued to rely on HBC assistance. As daughter of the American consul at Winnipeg,[13] Elizabeth Taylor had access to the ears of HBC officials; in the years before the tiny northern steamers offered regular passenger accommodation, her father was able to negotiate permission for her to travel on their steamers (J.W. Taylor to Smith, 21 Feb. 1892). Similarly, Emma Shaw Colcleugh, as wife of Frederick William Colcleugh, Winnipeg merchant and, at

various times, Indian agent at Selkirk, mayor of Selkirk, and member of the Manitoba Provincial Parliament, enjoyed access to Government House and a social circle which included HBC Commissioner C.C. Chipman; through him she arranged her journey in 1894 to Fort McPherson on one of the HBC summer supply trips (Hail and Duncan 43-44). During the early period, when the steamers' primary purpose was the transportation of HBC goods and supplies, such permission was necessary: one could not just buy a ticket. But already the revenue possibilities of the region for sportsmen and tourists had grown clear to the HBC, and accommodation aboard the Mackenzie River steamer gradually improved: in 1908, Agnes Deans Cameron travelled on the maiden voyage of the SS *Mackenzie River*, which had just replaced the tiny *Wrigley*, and which offered stateroom accommodation for twenty-two passengers. By 1926, that ship had been upgraded yet again to the SS *Distributor* when Clara Coltman Rogers purchased a ticket to travel on the steamers run by the HBC subsidiary, the Alberta and Arctic Transportation Company.

The connection between improved transportation networks and the development of travel literature as a genre has been noted by Charles L. Batten, Jr. Writing of travels on the European continent, Batten notes that improved roads and accommodation for travellers meant not only that travel narratives were now written by very different people (including women) than previously, but also that they were being written both to provide a description of exotic lands and also to provide information for future travellers (2-3). In the case of the Western Arctic, white women were direct beneficiaries of the changes wrought on their culture's way of thinking about the North by improvement in transportation infrastructure. Practically speaking, although they continued to lack widespread institutional employment in the North,[14] the conditions of travel were now sufficiently convenient that, in the 1890s, white women with appropriate political and social contacts could gain summer access.

However, the development of northern steamer transportation and the improved accessibility of the region also occurred at the same time as a general awareness of the region's tourism potential began to develop (Hail and Duncan 44). The combination of these factors with Canada's general push towards settlement and progress in the North-West produced a context in which the arrival of white women—of a certain class—in what had previously been considered a barren wilderness was a sign that the North itself was on the verge of change. When Elizabeth Taylor arrived in Edmonton en route to Fort McPherson, the *Edmonton Bulletin* commented:

> Times are changed when a lady can travel for pleasure and information, without an escort, over the ground where Richardson, Black [sic] and Franklin suffered such terrible privations and hardships, and even death, not so very long ago. ("Miss Taylor")

In other words, the fact that a lady could contemplate a journey there meant that the 'North' was no longer a region of death and privation, where sublime (masculine) adventures and grand discoveries could take place. The presence of "a lady," that is, an upper-class woman who, as Frances Simpson had sixty-two years earlier at Red

River, embodied the ideals of civilized femininity, both signalled the region's transformation, and also produced that transformation in the discourse of what the North, on the brink of the twentieth century, signified in the popular mind.[15] What is important, for my purposes, is not whether conditions in the North had indeed changed, as the *Edmonton Bulletin* claimed, but that Taylor's presence in the North was seen as evidence of such a change. The North was no longer "the place which is far enough away to leave women behind" (H. Murray 77), and, in the context of women's travels, the region began to lose its status as wilderness frontier. The discourse of femininity and the discourse of progress were mutually constitutive, in this context, as perceptions that the North had changed made white women's semi-independent travel in the region conceivable, while the fact of women's travel produced the perception that the dangerous frontier had receded in the face of civilization's advance.

The idea of the North as a site of dramatic and tragic adventure did not disappear altogether, of course. The region continued to provide ample fodder for dramatic and tragic tales of adventure. The romance of the Overlanders and the dark, dangerous days which inspired the ballads of Robert Service, which would in turn inspire generations of northern travellers including Agnes Deans Cameron and Clara Vyvyan, still lay in the future when Taylor and Colcleugh made their northern journeys.[16] To this day, writers such as Victoria Jason continue to exploit the idea of the North as a trackless wilderness where death-defying enterprise is possible in order to construct their adventures for a market that still caters to a desire for wilderness adventure as the basis for self-knowledge. The multiple and contradictory nature of discourse meant that the discourse of the North could—and still does—comfortably accommodate both the idea of frontier adventure and the idea of technological progress towards civilization.. In the context of women's travels, however, the former idea was distanced, and the latter foregrounded. Both Taylor and Colcleugh wrote of a North where the great tales of adventure all lay in the past, performed by male explorers, while the region they themselves travelled in was one which, despite its continuing picturesque scenes and rough conditions, had changed somewhat from "the old *voyageur* days" (Taylor, "Woman" 307). Steamer travel made the region accessible under material conditions which lessened the threat wilderness travel posed to civilized femininity, and the notion of progress was in the air.

If northern travel conditions had changed, however, much of the *appeal* of the North still lay in its relative isolation and aura of romantic adventure. Whatever might have drawn her to the Canadian Arctic in the first place, each of the women who wrote about it represented the region in terms of an historical and literary tradition in which the North was a region of adventure, trial, suffering, and death. I have already noted that each of these writers described the region's geographical features in terms of their discovery or establishment by male explorers and traders. On the opening page of her 1894 article, Elizabeth Taylor writes that "I had wished to visit the Far North ever since the time when, as a little girl of ten years old, I had

read Dr. [Oliver Wendell] Holmes' beautiful poem, 'The Two Streams,' . . . a childish resolution by no means weakened by later revellings in Ballantyne's delightful books on the fur countries" ("Woman" 44). "The Two Streams" contrasts the opposing destinations of the Athabasca and the "Oregon" rivers,[17] both originating in the Rockies, but flowing in geographically and semantically opposite directions, "One to long darkness and the frozen tide,/ One to the Peaceful Sea!" (Holmes 100). By implication, the destination of both the waters of the Mackenzie watershed and also of Elizabeth Taylor herself is all that the "Peaceful Sea" is not: not light, but darkness; not peaceful, but dangerous; not life-filled, but frozen—despite the fact that Taylor's journey occurs during the summer months. Later in the narrative, she describes the geographical features in terms of their discovery by "Hearne, Mackenzie, Richardson, Back and Abbé Petitot" ("Woman" 126). Emma Shaw Colcleugh, in a journal article focussing on northern missions and framed by the historical achievements of Jesuit and Oblate missionaries, also confides to her reader when she reaches Fort Chipewyan that "[m]uch might be written of this old post where Mackenzie, Rae, Back, Franklin, Simpson, and Richardson rested ere they took their adventurous and hazardous wanderings still farther into the trackless wilderness" ("Missions" 117). Again, the historical North is identified with male adventure, danger, and the unknown. Agnes Deans Cameron, whose *The New North* (1908) is far more interested in the North's future development than in its romantic past, still takes the time to pry stories out of the Mounties she meets (30-32) and to poke into dusty HBC post journals as she makes her way north (190-93); she frames her northward chapters with epigraphs from the wilderness verse of Archibald Lampman and Robert Service.

Even Lady Clara Vyvyan, writing in 1961, attributes her desire to visit the Western Arctic to a book of Robert Service's poems, which had been sent to her from Alaska by a friend (9), and invokes the precedent of the Klondikers in her arrival at Destruction City (92). Although Vyvyan ignores the historical figures—Franklin, Mackenzie, Hearne—as well as those who travelled in the region between the time of her trip (1926) and of the writing of her narrative (1961), she does invoke a more recent version of the northern frontier in *Arctic Adventure*. Her text includes not only allusions to the recent Klondike gold rush but also frontier figures, such as Chief Pierre Squirrel (36), Captain Cameron the whaler (75-79), Harry Anthony the oil prospector (154) or Frank Foster the Klondiker (155), who relate or embody a recent (within the preceding thirty years) adventurous past. As much as possible, however, Vyvyan prefers to relate a North in which adventure—still almost exclusively associated with male activity—continues to happen in 1926:

> We went to call on the factor's wife and sat in an overheated, airless room, making conversation with our fellow-passengers since our hostess remained silent. At last the factor came in and real talk began; about moose, buffalo, trappers, trade and about a peculiar man named Hornby who had been living in the Barren Grounds on raw rabbits, eating them, fur and all, without any other meat or any fuel. At long last coffee and toast appeared and the talk dribbled on in a thinner

> stream about steamers, Eskimo trials, furs and the factor's new wireless. (34)

Whether invoked by the precedents of Back and Franklin, or by the talk of anonymous factors and trappers, these texts situate themselves in an imaginative tradition of the North as a region of masculine adventure, where men defied vast distances, potentially hostile inhabitants, and all the power of hostile nature, to make their fortunes—that is, to return to Britain with furs, mineral discoveries, a North-West Passage, a best-selling adventure narrative, or whatever other form of wealth they sought—in the service of civilization and the British Empire.[18]

The attraction of northern adventure, then, existed for both women travellers and for their readers, and yet the features of that adventure—physical privation, hunting exploits, wilderness survival—were not really available to women. Materially, most women travelling in the North were doing so under the auspices of the HBC, and at least the informal protection of the RCMP. I have already described the importance of steamer travel to women travellers. Certainly both Taylor and Colcleugh, travelling in the 1890s, needed permission from high-ranking HBC officials to travel on what were primarily supply ships, rather than passenger conveyance; some thirty years later, in a description of the Rat River route in the possession of Lady Vyvyan, Henry Warner stated that the RCMP were unlikely to allow women to travel the Rat without a minimum number of guides to ensure their safe arrival (4). Kelcey, in her work on professional women travelling in the North in the 1930s, notes the continuing institutional restrictions placed on women because of their supposed weakness compared to male travellers (179). Women in the North were, even at that late date, not permitted to stray beyond the bounds of institutional protection—a protection not imposed to the same degree upon male travellers.

The extreme nature of institutional control in the North, and the limitations it placed on any traveller, thus probably accentuated the already-male-dominated cultural conception of woman's place on the frontier. Ideologically, as I have discussed in previous chapters, the writing of frontier adventure was coded masculine in the European tradition.[19] Martin Green, in *The Adventurous Male* (1993), does not preclude the possibility of women's adventures, but he suggests that the love of adventure in a woman can also lead to a transgression of gender lines: the adventurous woman is a tomboy, a masculine woman (225). Thus, in becoming adventurous, the woman is no longer, culturally speaking, strictly *feminine*. And yet, despite the way women were positioned in this discourse of adventure, they too had read Service and Ballantyne. They too were drawn north by the idea of trackless wilderness, adventure, and self-trial. And as writers, they were aware that the appeal of the North for their readers lay in such adventure. Accordingly, women writing about the North negotiated the idea of northern adventure very carefully.

Writing the Northern Adventure

Elizabeth R. Taylor, the first woman to publish a narrative of travel in the Western Arctic, produced two articles based on her Mackenzie River travels: a four-part series, entitled "A Woman in the Mackenzie Delta," which appeared in *Outing Magazine* from October 1894 to January 1895; and a shorter version of that article, "Up [sic] the Mackenzie River to the Polar Sea," which appeared in *Travel* in 1899. In 1892, when she made her journey to Fort McPherson, Taylor was thirty-six. She was the daughter of the American consul at Winnipeg, and her education had included the typical skills of a lady of nineteenth-century America, including, in her case, natural history and sketching. She was, Nute states, "a bit of an artist, botanist, ornithologist, and general scientist" ("Paris" 19); in the winter of 1892, her letters describe efforts to research the flora and fauna of the Western Arctic, as well as lessons from Ernest Thompson Seton, also resident in Paris that winter, in the fine art of natural history collection (Taylor to Carver; Taylor to Burr).[20] Taylor had travelled with her father in the Canadian west and had taken a camping trip on the Nipigon River in 1888; James Taylor Dunn suggests she had conceived of the latter expedition as an early test of her ability to stand up to wilderness travel ("Up the Nepigon" 20). She had also made a sketching and fishing trip to Sitka, Alaska, in 1889 (Alden 2-3). In 1892, when she travelled down the Mackenzie River to Fort McPherson, she had been studying art in Paris for two years (Alden 3). Her trip to the Canadian North-West was first conceived as a journey through the Peace River country, but, when that plan collapsed because "[a] Hudson Bay trader that I was to have gone with over a certain *very* difficult part of the way, turns out, on private inquiry, not to be a suitable escort" (Taylor to Carver),[21] the HBC suggested the Mackenzie River route as being "the cheapest, the easiest and the pleasantest trip to be taken in our territories" (Taylor to Carver).[22]

Cheap, easy, and pleasant is not, however, how Taylor herself represents her journey. She opens "A Woman in the Mackenzie Delta" by situating the land of her travels in terms of its geographical extent (tracing the length of the watershed from the Athabasca River's headwaters to the Arctic Ocean in the first two paragraphs), its literary character, which I have already noted in Holmes' poetry and Ballantyne's adventure novels, and its romantic history under the HBC and the northern missionaries. In each case, she stresses the isolation of the region: the length of the watershed from its southern headwaters; the impossibility "for a woman" (44) of actually travelling in the region before the steamers were introduced; and the heroic efforts of the HBC to establish its lonely settlements under such difficult conditions of communication and transportation. By the time she turns to herself and her own business in the region, the reader is quite convinced that her goal lies at the ends of the earth, and readily accepts the lengthy scenes of preparation—locating and packing gear for northern travel, as well as for collecting botanical and entomological specimens and for sketching en route. Details of preparation and equipment are, of course, standard fare in the literature of wilderness travel, and are a literary

inheritance from the epic tradition's arming of the hero for combat. Taylor's extensive baggage gives notice of the serious objects—art and natural history—of her travel, and evokes the adventurous connotations of her literary precedents. The isolation of the region from European civilization (or, at least, from the knowledge of European citizens) is further emphasized in Taylor's efforts—humorously dramatized—to convince her Parisian dressmaker that her travelling dresses should not have even "a *little* train" (45), and in the advice of "the eminent London scientist," who "asked what enemies I expected to encounter. . . . He spoke of the savage tribes which I should meet, and drew a touching picture of my being murdered in my sleep for the whiskey needed to preserve the specimens" (45-46).

Taylor's use of humour in these scenes of departure from Europe serves a twofold rhetorical purpose. First, relative ignorance about the far North in the metropolitan centres reinforces the dramatic significance of both the distance she will be travelling (in geographical and cultural terms) and her own status as an authority on the region. Even before she leaves London, she describes the "real risks" of her proposed journey:

> Was it prudent to go two thousand miles from the nearest settlement, beyond all medical aid, to live on the rough fare of the country, to bear exposure to the weather in open boats, the attacks of insects, and the strain on the nerves from the continued light of a northern summer? ("Woman" 46)

These same risks faced male travellers, but they rarely relied on nervous strain to imbue their travel writing with narrative tension. The geographical isolation of the region is exaggerated in this passage—she was never as much as two thousand miles from the city of Edmonton, let alone from "the nearest settlement"—and although the exaggeration would not likely have been noticed by the metropolitan reader, it serves nonetheless to situate Taylor's goal in some imagined other space, a distant world comparable to the "Ultima Thule" to which Jameson directed her reader in 1838. The dramatized confrontation with the London scientist allows Taylor to redefine the terms of the northern adventure, from encounters with bloodthirsty savages, which frequently formed the central contest of boys' adventure novels, to trials of endurance which could be overcome by quintessentially feminine virtues of silent suffering, passive endurance, and self-control. This strategy of redefinition is not, of course, unique to Taylor. Works of travel literature, a fact-based genre devoted to the instruction as well as to the entertainment of its readers, frequently enhanced their own credibility by 'correcting' the less reliable information available in previous or competing narratives, or the information purveyed by works of fiction or myth.[23] Nonetheless, here the strategy allows Taylor to distance her own exploits from the potential violence of the fictional adventures, and thus to present her readers with a series of trials and confrontations with the North which are, in their very lack of romance, both realistic and also amenable to a successful triumph within the bounds of appropriate feminine behaviour.

Taylor's humour also serves to structure her adventure, not in heroic, but in mock-heroic terms: "The departure of this Arctic expedition was not announced in the newspapers. It started in a cab, one morning in the latter part of March, from a shabby little court in the *Quartier Latin* of Paris" ("Woman" 45), she informs her reader. The implicit contrast of Taylor's one-woman "expedition" with the great enterprises of exploration undertaken by the British Royal Navy earlier in the century allows the woman traveller both the stance of self-deprecating modesty and at the same time the invocation of those great enterprises as the tradition in which she, in her own small way, is about to play a part. At the end of the narrative, her return from the North is "even less imposing. . . . A heavy rain had begun before we left the ranch, and I arrived at the little hotel in Edmonton dripping wet and splashed with mud" (311). The diminuendo of her return to civilization—a mud-spattered arrival at a "little" hotel—underlines the contrast between her own modest accomplishments and the triumphant return more appropriate to the traditional hero of arctic exploration.

Meanwhile, however, this mock-heroic tone has surfaced throughout the narrative. It occurs when, in Edmonton, she contemplates the purchase of a kettle with the aid of RCMP Inspector McDougall and an HBC official, assuring her reader that "it is no light matter to leave for the north without a proper kettle" (47). It arises again when, as the SS *Athabasca* leaves her camped at Grand Rapids, Taylor quite self-consciously performs the explorer's requisite realization of isolation in the vast North: "as the boat passed out of sight around a bend in the river I felt that I was really in the wilderness. One thought, however, was consoling—all the beans were on board" (50). Yet another occasion yields a third example: she attempts, from her observations as ethnographer in the North, to delineate "the etiquette of a camp church" (125). The mock-heroic tone continues as she describes her confrontations with the enemy, which have metamorphosed from the London scientist's "savage tribes" (45) to "bloodthirsty mosquito regiments":

> I wish here to speak of that brave young missionary who faced these legions with me on several collecting expeditions. Our preparations were always thorough and elaborate. We tied our heads up in large handkerchiefs, held down our sleeves and trouser-legs with elastic bands, and donned stout gloves, head-nets and heavy jackets. We were then ready for the worst. (125)

Finally, having botanized her way down the Mackenzie River, she reaches Fort McPherson, and the Inuit: "I had been disappointed in the fishing . . . but the Eskimos surpassed my fondest expectations" (230), she confides to her reader, eliding all northern amusements with the blithe assurance of the southern traveller, and acknowledging the acquisitiveness underlying all colonial travel—whether for sport, ethnography, or recreation. Her fondest expectations are turned back upon her, however, as the first woman she meets greets her with laughter:

> With convulsive giggles she grasped my hand firmly with one of hers, while with the other she patted me affectionately on the shoulder. Evidently I impressed her as presenting an utterly absurd appearance,

> for, after looking me all over, she would shut her eyes, shake her head from side to side and go off into a fit of laughter. (230)[24]

"Soon afterwards," Taylor continues, she met the wife of one of the chiefs, who apparently behaved in a less disconcerting manner. Taylor describes her in the conventional style of the ethnographic representation of indigenous woman, according to her beauty, her hands, eyes, hair style and dress (230), and the shift in tone is abrupt, from the laughter which turns the traveller's gaze, in complicitous delight, back on her own "utterly absurd appearance," to the cool, almost relieved tone of 'objective' ethnographic description.

The use of a mock-heroic, or comedic, style, to relate travels is not unique to Taylor, of course. In *Travels in West Africa*, Mary Kingsley uses what Mary Louise Pratt terms a "self-ironic persona" (213) which mocks the soldier-sportsman model of African exploration, creating a space of self-awareness for Kingsley's own form of exploration, a search for fish and fetish through the swamps of West Africa (215). A self-aware, mocking performance of the various stock exploits of the European (male) traveller is a tactic used by more than one female travel writer in order to signal both her own awareness of her participation in the cultural practice of travel (in Elizabeth Taylor's case, in "Arctic expedition[s]") and also the moments when that performance does not measure up to the norm—often because of the writer's gender.[25] Thus the woman traveller can both invoke what Kelcey has termed the hagiographic tradition of male exploration (1), and also forestall any accusations of self-aggrandizement or immodesty. These two tactics highlight the gendered construction of the traditional traveller-hero and his adventures, and proffer instead the "real" (46) exploits of the woman traveller.

Further, Taylor's use of the mock-heroic, while it can be read as a challenge to more violent and adventure-oriented northern travels, does not extend to challenging constructions of masculinity and femininity in the North. Neither her proposed business, sketching and botanizing, nor her behaviour once she is there unduly challenges the bounds of appropriate femininity. She does not, in the passage about crossing the Smith Portage (quoted above), climb down from the farm wagon and slog through the mud in search of scientific specimens, as Mary Kingsley would do only two years later in Africa (89-90). Waiting at Athabasca Landing for the SS *Athabasca*, she passes the time with the conventional activities of the upper-class lady, "visiting and letter-writing, and watching the lines of freighters' carts come and go, and the bustle of lading" (47); she is, both as woman and as a steamboat passenger, an observer of the business of the North, rather than a participant.

The stance of observer is a typical one for the traveller, whose distanced perspective on the land and culture through which he or she is travelling provides travel literature with both its authority and its entertainment. However, in the case of the northern frontier, the genre of travel writing celebrates, not only disinterested observation and evaluation, but also the physical achievements of men who win their way through the hazards of wilderness travel. As observer, Taylor records descriptions of landscapes and northern posts as well as botanical observations and

ethnographic material, as I have described above. Like many other travellers in the region, she describes the landscape in terms of its historical discovery (usually citing the famous explorer, trader, or missionary who founded any particular settlement), its present appearance, geographical and botanical makeup, and resources. The grand tragedies of northern history, such as the event resulting in the name of the Rapids of the Drowned, are cited from previous travellers' descriptions: in this case, from Richardson (Taylor 123). Moreover, the narrative is peopled by the high-ranking or famous people of the missions and the fur trade: HBC Inspector James McDougall (46), Bishop Reeve of the Church of England's Mackenzie River diocese (47), Anglican Archdeacon Macdonald (232), Roman Catholic bishops Grandin (50) and Clut (55), and Alexis Beaulieu, "a son of the old Beaulieu who was the guide of Sir John Franklin" (305); it is they who race around the North on business, while Taylor limits her travels to the steamer's itinerary. She details the yearly routine of fur-trade and mission life, the land's resources and the exotic phenomena of the midnight sun and the aurora borealis. Focussing on her own experience, she relates the domestic details of camp life and river travel on small steamers and open boats, and describes the specimens discovered in her struggle against the "enemies," the omnipresent mosquitoes, on her botanizing expeditions, but natural history, rather than adventure, provides a structure of observation and reportage for her descriptions. For the most part, her stance remains that of an observer rather than a participant.[26]

In fact, although Taylor includes many of the archetypal scenes of northern adventure—running rapids, the physical work of river transport, descriptions of the *voyageurs*, hunting big game—throughout the article, she is set apart from the action of these scenes. In running the rapids, the men are full of furious activity, while her task is to remain still and silent; on the return trip tracking the boats back up the rapids, she explicitly contrasts the passenger's experience—"in good weather nothing can be pleasanter than this way of travelling"—with the "painful work" of the men—"climbing over the rocks, plunging into water to the waist" (307). Even a lengthy description of the *voyageurs* falling down in "picturesque attitudes" after some hard task ends with a retreat to the domestic details of camp life—abetted by "the missionaries who kindly came to offer their services"—as an antidote to her own propensity to find "the laziness of the brigade contagious" (51-52). Reinforcement of domestic standards, combined with religious aid, maintains a vitiated sense of civilization for the woman traveller.

This becomes even more apparent in Taylor's depiction of a northern moose hunt. Like the many other episodes that are staples in the literature of northern travel, the hunt is described from the point of view of an observer, distanced from the experience, even when Taylor benefits from the hunt's results. The hunt takes place when the northbound flotilla of sturgeon-head boats encounters a moose in the river:

> It was undoubtedly different from any moose hunt of which I had ever heard or read; seven "sturgeon-head" boats bearing down on the poor animal, and fifty people shouting wildly, the great oars splashing in the rapids, the spray flying, the quick reports of the guns, and one poor

> distracted animal waving his big ears, turning his uncouth head from side to side and swimming for dear life across the river. (54)

Once the moose is shot, she runs up with a Kodak to take a picture, but is too late, and is thus removed even from the burden of being a direct observant of the butchering:

> I met two Indians each with a hoof in his hand, a few steps farther another was seen carrying the head, and as I came up breathless the skin was almost off and great pieces of flesh already cut from the carcass. An Indian seized the smoking hide and ran off through the woods followed by a dozen men. In his haste he tripped, fell headlong into a hole, and all the others came tumbling after him. In the *mêlée* another snatched the hide only to lose it in his turn, and so the chase went on, amid shrieks of laughter. Soon afterward, while returning to the boat, I saw an Indian seated on the bank eating a portion of the intestines raw. The contents of the stomach, half digested, are considered a great delicacy. We had fresh steaks for supper and I brought out a treasured little pot of jam, made from the tart Arctic cranberries, and had a veritable feast. (54)

The graphic dismemberment and chaotic struggle over raw fragments of flesh stand in contrast to the domestic note struck by Taylor's demure "treasured little pot of jam," and even to her "steaks." Her diction here signifies her consumption of food, rather than the fragmented body parts, not conventionally identifiable as food without extensive processing, that the "Indians" fight over: hoofs, head, skin, and hide do not generally grace the upper-class American table; intestines and stomach contents, once they arrive in the kitchen, become "sweetmeats." The men of the brigade, identified by their race, fight among themselves playfully for a share of this (in Taylor's representation) less-than-desirable flesh, in contrast to her own deferral of consumption until "supper," an appropriate and ordered time. The hunt is not 'sport,' not the manly contest between hunter and noble prey celebrated by upper-class Englishmen, but a mob pursuit by "Indians" that ends in butchery.

This first hunt contrasts revealingly with the second hunt Taylor describes, a hushed pursuit and single shot, fired by the engineer and directed by the captain of the *Wrigley*, which brings down another moose during the return trip from Fort McPherson (the "Indians" are still sent to do the butchering [304]). White hunters in the literature of sport, as Gordon Moyles and Doug Owram have described, dispatch the prey with dignity and style; there is no excessive fuss, the butchering takes place with a minimum of blood, preferably off-stage, and "sport" is rarely undertaken for food (69-70)—at least not primarily. Taylor only indirectly refers to the motive for killing the second moose, but does so by indicating the threat which even the limited privation she has had to undergo has made to her femininity: "[m]y feminine heart should have had some considerations of mercy, but all gentle emotions had been banished by a long, uninterrupted diet of dried beef" (304). Agnes Deans Cameron

would later hunt her first moose, and use the same reasoning to counter any possible charges of cruelty (348).

The recurring hardship of the diet, mentioned repeatedly throughout Taylor's article, issues mainly from its monotony and indigestibility, rather than from its scarcity (46, 48, 54, 129, 132, 304, 305), and yet even that poses a threat to Taylor's civilized femininity, as this passage shows. Her hardships thus include enduring "the rough fare of the frontier" (beans, bacon, and bread), which, when combined with the inactivity of steamer travel, "demands many of the Spartan virtues" (73). The "inevitable trials" of life on the river include "[a] miserable afternoon; hot, sleepy, headache; sea-sick if I stayed in the boat . . . eyes hurt with the smoke of the camp fires; no shelter, no shade" (54), and her final two hours in the sturgeon-head boat before reaching Fort McMurray are spent drenched through from a wave, "[s]o I made my first appearance on the *Grahame* wrapped up to the eyes, cold and miserable, and my soaked shoes squeaked dismally" (55); her appearance is in humiliating contrast to the men of the brigade, who have donned clean shirts and moccasins for the arrival at the post. All of these trials can, as Taylor predicts at the opening of the article, be met with passive endurance and self-control, and she affects these qualities with style and grace. Closer encounters with the northern wilderness are structured around her botanizing expeditions, are not described in detail, and are at least twice represented in terms of flight back to civilization.

The first such incident is humorously dramatized, as she and her missionary-helper return from a botanizing excursion, and are "received with a stern warning not to bring those mosquitoes into camp." We "were switched with willow branches and performed wonderful racing feats in circles until we had left our pursuers behind, and were fit to be admitted into camp," she reports (125). The pursuing vestiges of the wilderness excursion, the "enemies" that the mosquitoes represent, are literally beaten away, before she can return to the temporary domestic space denoted by the camp boundaries. A later, more literal flight from the wilderness occurs just before she leaves the northern terminus of her journey, Fort McPherson, when she is walking alone outside the settlement:

> . . . the time was not a fair one. Toward the north was a glorious sunset, gold and silver clouds piled high in the heavens above the mountains, around which golden mists were gathering. The birds had taken shelter from the sharp wind and were quiet except for the pathetic, long-drawn note of the wood-pewee. A few white moths were flitting about, but there was no other sign of life. The stillness oppressed me, and sleepless nights and the constant light had been a severe strain. I felt lonely off there in the muskeg and, at the sudden sleepy stirring of some bird hidden in the bush near me, I was seized with a panic and made better time than I care to tell, to the mission. (234)

The beauty and silence of the North are here not picturesque or sublime, but eerie and disturbing. As in the earlier, more comic episode of "wonderful racing feats" as she

runs from the mosquitoes, here aspects of the wilderness provoke the woman traveller to unladylike flight. Her phrasing, "better time than I care to tell," is revealing: she does not explicitly state that she ran in panic, but the passage implies that she achieved an unladylike pace in her retreat—a retreat inadmissible both under the discourse of northern adventure, and also in the context of her own rendering of her journey as completely safe (unladylike flight does, after all, imply that it is not safe). The next morning, the steamer departs southward, and Taylor is on it.

I have analyzed in detail Elizabeth Taylor's construction of her travelling self, and its relationship to the discourse of adventure in the North, not in order to criticize her passivity or lack of courage, but to highlight the extent to which, even in narratives of women's travel, the wilderness and its inhabitants still appear in opposition to the civilized domesticity women represented. Nowhere does Taylor actually recoil from indigenous peoples, whether Dene, Métis or Inuit, in the violent terms that describe her rejection of the wilderness landscape in the above passages, where she is literally beaten to remove the vestiges of her wilderness walk, or where she flees the wilderness setting in panic. However, she constructs an unrelenting opposition between herself and indigenous peoples in her descriptions of them: in the contrast between her own supper of "steak" and the way the men of the brigade dismember and consume the moose (54); in her depiction of evening religious services in their camps on the Athabasca River, "the Indians leaving their gambling and creeping up softly behind the trees to listen to the hymns, their dusky faces lit up by the glare of the fire as they peered through the leaves" (52); and even in the laughter with which she is greeted on her arrival at Fort McPherson. She is associated with domesticity in the first episode and with the civilized light of Christianity in the second, in direct contrast to the indigenous peoples, whom she situates in benighted, chaotic savagery. When the wilderness comes too close, Taylor retreats into domesticity, in the shape of a "a treasured little pot of jam" (54) or of a stern reinforcement of domestic standards in the face of native encroachment or recalcitrance (52, 125, 310). Despite the appeal of "the charm of this wild life" ("Up the Mackenzie" 560), then, and Taylor's idyllic descriptions of river travel when the sun shines, in the end she retreats from the "adventure" her article situates beyond the missions and the steamer route.

Nonetheless, "A Woman in the Mackenzie Delta" strikes a nice balance between, on the one hand, an invocation of wilderness space and adventure, and, on the other, Taylor's own desire to "catch butterflies, and botanize, and sketch" along the Mackenzie River. This balance owes much to the venue in which this first article about her trip appeared. A self-proclaimed "Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation,"[27] *Outing* was a gentleman's outdoor magazine that published articles on all amateur sports, from photography, cycling and college athletics to hunting, fishing, travel, and exploration. Accounts of adventure and exploration by famous outdoorsmen and adventure fiction writers such as Dillon Wallace, Frederick Remington, Caspar Whitney (later, editor of *Outing*), Jack London and Lawrence Mott appeared in the serial; because of its merger with *The Wheelman* in 1884

(*American Periodicals* 173), in the early years it had extensive coverage on bicycling, and was one of the early advocates of cycling for women. Although the magazine's audience remained primarily male, in the early years of the twentieth century *Outing* also ran articles on women's participation in sports like canoeing (L. Hubbard, "Paddling Your Own Canoe") and small game hunting (Cushing, "Teaching Her to Shoot"). It was, then, a likely venue for the publication of women's travels in the North, one which addressed those women interested in some outdoor activity as a secondary readership, and which treated the North both as a field for sport and manly endeavour, and also as a field for scientific, artistic, and literary work, thus offering some space for women's activities.

Comparison between the *Outing* article analyzed above and the shorter version which appeared in *Travel* in 1899 reveals how different publication venues, and therefore different audiences, might affect the way a woman traveller formulated her travels. *Travel* was a publication which did not specialize in wilderness or sport, and its usual material covered much less difficult journeys than Taylor's. The *Travel* article, entitled "Up the Mackenzie River to the Polar Sea," is a mere six pages long, rather than the thirty-nine pages devoted to Taylor's trip in the earlier piece. The two articles describe the same journey, but subtle differences in Taylor's representation of her trip imply a difference in audience. To begin with, the North's relatively slight significance in the magazine's view is perhaps indicated by the article's title, "*Up* the Mackenzie River . . . " (my italics). Since most rivers flow *down* to the sea, the title suggests a southern-centred perspective which sees "up" and "down" in terms of conventional cartographic presentation. In this later version the return journey is drastically shortened, but, rather than leaving Taylor to her anonymous arrival at a "little hotel in Edmonton" ("Woman" 311) as the earlier article does, the *Travel* article briefly details "four and a half days' journey on the main and branch lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway . . . to Montreal" ("Up the Mackenzie" 564). Return from the wilderness, in the later article, seems to require a return to the east; this suggests an audience that was far more oriented to the East and South as a norm. The article also lacks the extensive botanical lists and ethnographic material that accompanied the *Outing* series, and, although the names of famous explorers of the region are still cited, the religious and commercial figures who appear in the *Outing* article are no longer present by name or title. Thus a more general audience is suggested by the *Travel* article, one less familiar with the geography, figures and history of the North, and less interested in specific and detailed information.

Further, the opening presentation of the region is different in the two articles. I have described above the emphasis Taylor places, in the opening paragraphs of "A Woman in the Mackenzie Delta," on the region's vast extent and isolation. She implies a region with only a few traces of human habitation clinging to the edges of a vast wilderness, and only very recently the development of a limited steamer system. "Up the Mackenzie River to the Polar Sea" begins by focussing on that steamer system, the annual delivery of the mail, and the vast distances (and therefore the vast extent of transportation and communications systems) that culminate in that small

steamer on which, Taylor eventually reveals, she is travelling. The focus of the opening is therefore not the wilderness but the "mission" ("Up the Mackenzie" 559) of the small steamer, the romance of the human endeavour rather than the wonder of a vast space of human absence; the shift signifies a readership interested in general travels and human activity, rather than in the wilderness encounter.

A shift in perceived audience is further suggested by the rhetorical positioning of the reader in the two articles. In the earlier *Outing* article, the humour of the preparation scenes—which ridicule the ignorance of the London scientist and the Parisian dressmaker—rhetorically positions the reader as someone who shares the traveller's amusement at the lamentable ignorance of European civilization. Despite the article's general tendency to distance the traveller (as icon of civilization) from the inhabitants of the region (as savages),[28] the discourse of natural history and the presentation of extensive historical and geographical knowledge about the region position the narrator as a knowledgeable and capable northern traveller, and the reader as someone interested in becoming equally knowledgeable about the North.

In contrast, and despite the fact that it omits Taylor's flight from wilderness back to the Fort McPherson mission, the *Travel* article displays far more uncertainty on the part of the female traveller; in this magazine, fearless and intrepid wilderness travel was less standard fare. Here the traveller is relieved to discover that her fellow passengers are religious men. No longer does the only threat lie in the rough conditions of food and weather of the North; here, concerns about the proximity of the natives are voiced by her self, and calmed by Bishop Reeve, who assures her, "that I was as safe as at home, for a twofold reason: I was in the company's charge, and the Indians could get no liquor. 'If they were white men I would not advise it,' he added" (559). Rhetorically, *she* is no longer the source of information; instead, she is the neophyte whose fears about the wilderness are calmed by the experienced, safe, religious authority figure.[29] Further, the company is no longer the patriarchal caretaker of the northern indigenes, but has become an agent of law and order, an overt enforcer of civilization. The article goes on to reproduce many of the earlier piece's general descriptions of landscape and route, but the cumulative effect of the shift in the opening presentation of the region to be travelled, the omission of the botanical and ethnographic observations, as well as the details of Taylor's own camping experiences, results in a narrative which reproduces some of the romance and beauty of the northern journey but loses much of the strength of Taylor's own self-characterization as northern traveller.

The vastly shorter length of "Up the Mackenzie River to the Polar Sea" doubtless contributes to the shift in the article's emphasis, since something had to be left out. Nonetheless, the choice of omitted material and the reshaping of the article hint at some of the limitations that magazine publication placed on the scope of travel writing. A book could be many things to many people, but a magazine article appeared in a publication with an already-established audience, and had very limited range.

Emma Shaw Colcleugh's only periodical article about her travels in the Mackenzie region offers evidence of similar limitations.[30] In 1894, Colcleugh repeated Taylor's journey on the HBC supply steamers to Fort McPherson and back, although she took an additional side trip up the Peace River to the Chutes. Colcleugh's only magazine article from this trip appeared in *Catholic World*. It is an article on "Missions and Mission-Workers in 'The Great Lone Land,'" and it describes encounters with Catholic missionaries at work in the West and North of Canada, primarily during her Mackenzie River journey. Because of the article's focus on missions, Colcleugh and her travels are positioned on the margins of a narrative in which the central figures are the clergy of the North-West.

Like Taylor, Colcleugh is working with an idea of the North as a ground for male testing and heroism, and, although she centres her attention on the missions rather than the river transport of the North, the history of mission work on the North American continent offers an ideal context for the creation of heroic figures. Colcleugh's article starts with the beginnings of the Jesuits in New France, and the men who minister to the religious needs of the North are presented as appropriate descendants of the early martyrs, in their physical privations and heroic struggles in a land characterized by isolation and ignorance. The spartan conditions of the northern missions are portrayed to highlight the gracious courtesy of their workers, be they priests or nuns. Colcleugh's northern journey coincided with the 1894 tour of Bishop Emile Grouard, omi, senior church official of the Athabasca-Mackenzie (110). He becomes the central figure of Colcleugh's article, and the tale of her journey unfolds as a description of his activities, his arrivals, his departures; for example, at Fort Resolution,

> We arrived at about two in the morning, but his lordship was on the alert. Scarcely had the anchor fallen, when he was off, holding service and visiting the sick. He only caught the steamer by a hard pull of three miles across a bay where we were wooding up. (111)

In the conditions of twenty-four-hour daylight during the northern summer, business was apparently conducted at all hours. Taylor comments at one point that "[i]t seemed hardly the thing to go botanizing at one o'clock a.m." ("Woman" 229), although everyone else was at work. For Taylor, the constant daylight is both one of the exotic wonders of the North to which she has to adjust, and one of the strains on her nervous system. Colcleugh never mentions the altered conditions, or the fact that they apply to everyone; instead, the constant activity highlights the bishop's magnificent efforts to minister to his flock. Scenes of arrival and departure describe the communities' reaction to the bishop, rather than the woman traveller's encounter with the North: at Providence, for example, the "dusky followers . . . fairly blocked up the way" (112), and at Arctic Red River "a running salute of guns was fired in reckless disregard of the extravagant expenditure of ammunition" (116). All serves to give a hagiographic picture of Grouard as a tireless hero, worshipped by the people of the North.

Throughout the article, however, Colcleugh also signals, with tantalizing hints, the existence of another story, a story not told. Crossing Great Slave Lake to the outlet of the Mackenzie, she notes that "[t]o attempt even the briefest description of our journey from the source of this mighty stream to its delta would prolong this paper indefinitely. My purpose is but to give a passing glance at the principal missions" (111). At Providence, as the children are lined up to receive Bishop Grouard, she snaps a picture (114); the article conveys the sense that her activities take place around the edges of the 'real' business. "There is a mission at Fort Simpson," she notes, "but as Simpson is headquarters for the whole Mackenzie district of the Hudson [sic] Bay Company, I found so much in other lines claiming my attention that I failed to visit it" (114). She does not comment on those "other lines" that claim her attention, however; little enters the article that does not relate to the northern missions. At Fort McPherson, between the time when the bishop takes an orphan Dene child into care, and reappears with her two days later, Colcleugh is "Hunting for 'Husky' curios, visiting their lodges, and attempting to cram my note-book with all the stories and legends I could gather" (116); the ethnographic details which characterize Taylor's narrative, however, are lacking. Finally, as I have noted above, when Colcleugh reaches Chipewyan she comments that "[m]uch *might* be written of this old post where Mackenzie" and other explorers paused in their journeys, but "that, however, would require an article devoted solely to Chipewyan" (117; my italics). These constant hints of what the article is *not*, suggest that Colcleugh may have had other articles awaiting an audience. However, these hints also shift the article's focus, momentarily, from the bishop and the missions to the possibility of another northern story. Meanwhile, however, while the Bishop is 'off-stage' and the narrative's attention elsewhere, he performs his own minor miracles: a year's worth of religious ministration is provided at a northern settlement, or, in the space of a page, the Dene child he has taken into his care is transformed from a "wild little aborigine" (116) to a girl in European clothing, "all ready to be handed over to the sisters at Fort Providence" (116-17). The main story remains that of the Bishop's activities. At article's end, Colcleugh is delayed at the Landing while she arranges transportation to Edmonton. On her journey out, she meets the bishop (who travelled to the Landing with her), returning *from* Edmonton:

> Midway on my journey to Edmonton I saw the little pony jogging along, and a minute later the bishop was on the ground, hat off and hand extended to bid me adieu. There, in the solitude, our paths diverged, he to his work on the wild shores of lonely Athabaska, and I to plunge into the hum and bustle of the outside world. (120)

It is difficult to say how conscious Colcleugh is of the irony of this final passage, given the "hum and bustle" that has followed the bishop around the Mackenzie watershed.

Colcleugh's article has largely been ignored by those (Kelcey, Hail and Duncan) writing about her, and certainly it is not a narrative giving detailed descriptions of her own travels. What becomes interesting for the reader of women's

travel writing is that Colcleugh's travels appear in the article at all. For, despite its central subject, this is still a travel narrative. Its shape and progress follow the itinerary of the northern steamer. Its span, save for an historical introduction, is largely limited to the travels and observations of the narrator. And, like Taylor, Colcleugh has created a rhetorical opposition between the heroic subject of her article, the man of the North, and her travelling self. Her own journeys take place behind the bishop, at a slower pace, and she observes the North from the margins of a picture centred on his activities. The woman traveller once again takes the stance of observer, watching the main action, basking in its reflected light.

Although I have suggested that this stance partly results from the article's main focus on Grouard rather than on the writer, it may also result from the fact that Colcleugh was a journalist. Journalism was one career that could finance women's travels in the late nineteenth century, and it continued to do so until well into the twentieth century. Cameron, who took her Mackenzie River trip in 1908, and Ellis, who travelled to Aklavik in 1922, were both journalists. Like Colcleugh, both produced several articles exclusively about conditions in the North, as well as texts more personally narrating their own travel experiences. These were women for whom writing was a job, and they wrote whatever would sell—most often about subjects other than themselves. They catered to a market interested in information about the North and reported on northern incidents, as Ellis did, in 1922, in her article on the murder of Sergeant Doak, entitled "Inoffensive Looking Eskimo Shoots His Jailer in Cold Blood, as Policeman Sleeps." The article also refers to the deaths (by starvation, not Inuit violence) of the members of the Dawson (or Fitzgerald) patrol in 1911 and to an Inuit woman's transportation to Edmonton for psychiatric evaluation. The accumulation of these incidents in Ellis' article celebrates the extremes to which the Mounted Police will go in their efforts to extend British justice, law, and order across the North—a North here portrayed as a site of violence and madness.

A similar catalogue of male heroism in the service of king and country appears in Cameron's article, "Sentinels of the Silence: Canada's Royal Northwest Mounted Police," published in the December 1909 issue of *Century Magazine*. Cameron records, among other RNWMP exploits, Sergeant Anderson's arrest of the accused in the Hayward-King murders of 1904, and the expedition led by Inspector E.A. Pelletier on the first patrol of the region east of Great Slave Lake. Beginning each of these anecdotes, Cameron mentions her own contact with the men involved: "Last summer the writer travelled the Athabasca trail with Sergeant Anderson . . . " (295) and "Last summer the writer floated down the Athabasca with a detachment of the Mounted Police . . . " (298).[31] Like Colcleugh, Cameron inserts her own presence, as eyewitness or observer, to validate the truth of her material, but the shape of her article marginalizes and all but excludes her own northern travels. Much of the appeal of the North remained, and would continue for many years to remain, dominated by masculine activities.

By the time she undertook her northern travels, Cameron, once a teacher and the first woman high-school principal in British Columbia, already had an extensive list of magazine publications on various subjects including women's rights, education, imperialism, and Victoria and Vancouver Island.[32] In 1905, she was fired from her job as principal and had her teaching licence revoked.[33] She turned to her alternate career, journalism, to support herself.[34] In 1906, she spoke at the third annual convention of the Canadian Press Association in Winnipeg; at that conference, she made contact with the Chicago-based Western Canada Immigration Association (WCIA), which later offered her a position as publicist. Her writing began to focus on promoting the Canadian West, and during the same period she began to plan her Mackenzie River journey (Pazdro 116-17).

Miriam Green Ellis' northern journey took place some fourteen years after Cameron's, but the two women shared similar backgrounds. Like Cameron, Ellis was a teacher who became a journalist. She was born in the United States to Canadian parents who were temporarily resident there; she was raised in Brockville, Ontario. Her ambition to be a doctor was discouraged, so she studied and taught music before turning, in 1914, to journalism. She began at the local paper in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, where she was then living, and later moved on to the *Regina Post* and then to the *Edmonton Bulletin*, where she persuaded editor Frank Oliver to allow her to specialize in agricultural reporting. Her interest in agriculture led her north to the Peace River country, where she became fascinated by the "new North," and three years later, in 1922, she travelled to Aklavik, Northwest Territories. This trip played an important part in her career: on her return, she "gave a series of ten illustrated lectures in New York, then accepted a circuit of Canadian Club meetings" in Canada (MacEwan 172). Her northern articles were in such demand that she began to work free-lance, until, in 1928, she accepted the appointment of Western Editor at the Montreal *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, a position she held until her retirement in 1952 (MacEwan 169-74).

In their writing, Cameron and Ellis share an interest in northern women and in the economic development of the North. Taylor and Colcleugh had been American travellers, and although both were interested in signs of growing European civilization in the North, as evidenced in the missions and the HBC settlements, they were not personally involved in that development. Cameron and Ellis, however, were both Canadian journalists, and both depict northern development in the context of a Canadian national identity. In 1908, Cameron was vice-president of the Canadian Women's Press Club (CWPC) ("Pathfinders" 237), an employee of the WCIA, and an avid proponent of Canadian expansion into the West and North. In 1922, Ellis worked as a journalist for the *Edmonton Bulletin*, the same newspaper that, in 1892, had celebrated Elizabeth Taylor's northern journey as a sign of the advance of civilization and progress; the *Bulletin* had a history, while under the editorship of Frank Oliver and later, of being a keen advocate of western expansion, and was prone to see the North as Edmonton's hinterland, the key to the city's growth as the centre of the Canadian West. Ellis, also a member of the CWPC executive at various points

in her career (Haig 4), had made the agricultural beat of the West her own, and she regularly wrote articles celebrating the achievements of western farmers. She pitched her northern journey to her editor as an opportunity to highlight northern development:

> . . . an up-to-date paper like ours, serving a country just on the edge of the Great North, should have a story on the changes that were being brought about . . . I told him that here was a river, second in size to the Mississippi and draining a country one-fifth the entire size of Canada and it should certainly be written up. . . . there were a great many other features stories I could get by the way, such as development work at the Norman Oil Wells, building of the new government offices at Fort Smith, and the rumour of a gold find on the Nahanni River. ("Down North" 2)

Although Kelcey has suggested that conditions in the North remained fairly static until the Second World War (1, 277), the settlement boom in the Canadian West, its later extension into the Peace River area, and the gradual extension of improved transportation northward all contributed, by the early twentieth century, to an increasing attention to northern development. Just as there occurred a vast increase in travel narratives featuring information on immigration and settlement in the Canadian West following the completion of the transcontinental railway and the opening of the West for settlement, so the Canadian North became a hot topic in the years following the arrival of the steamers and the mineral and resource development of the Klondike and Norman Wells.

Cameron and Ellis were both active in the women's organizations of their time, particularly the CWPC; they promoted the expansion and development of the West and, by extension, its northern hinterland. Accordingly, both writers interest themselves as much in the statistics of northern development as in the region's romantic past. They are catering to a contemporary audience eager for information about the opportunities available in the North, and facts and figures emphasize the size of harvests, the capacity of transportation infrastructure, the income of fur and whaling companies, and the acres of timber and potential farmland for exploitation. The romance of wilderness adventure is epitomized for Cameron in the dusty, mouldering fragments of post journals that she leaves behind at the end of chapters six, ten, and fifteen. This historical past gives the region atmosphere and allure. A hint of the North's continuing scope for heroism appears in both writers' work: Ellis refers admiringly (if ironically, in hindsight) to Jack Hornby's life in the wilderness ("Sports" 174), and Cameron sententiously laments that "[d]eaths such as these are the price of Empire" (376) when she reports the fate of some of the men whom she met on her northern journey. Both writers also attest to the appeal of northern sport (Cameron, *NN* 346-48; "Sports" 173-74), and to the sacrifices made by the men of commerce and law in the North.

However, in these narratives the real adventure of the North lies in the immediate future. "The day of our great men is not over," Cameron assures her

readers in the final chapter of *The New North*. "Canada still in her great North and West has Pathfinders of Empire. The early voyageurs made their quest in the dugout and the birchbark; and the tools of these are rails of steel and iron horses" (378). She proceeds to list the leaders of Canadian commerce and transportation—all men—by name, and indeed, her narrative is liberally illustrated with portrait photographs amounting to a "Who's Who" in the development of the Canadian North-West. Ellis similarly acknowledges, simultaneously, the allure of an isolated North, characterized by the fact that "the mail comes once and sometimes twice a year" (Ellis, "Sports" 173), and the romance attached to being in on the beginnings of the region's development (i.e. economic exploitation):

> It is a country of superlatives. The river itself is one of the eight largest rivers of the world; its scenery is gorgeous; the tributaries, which they call creeks in the North, would be regarded as large rivers any place else; the lakes are inland seas; a continent could be supplied with fish from their waters; oil and mineral wealth, not yet developed, are profuse in promise; mountains of rich tar deposit line the river for a hundred and fifty miles; wild orchids that would drive a florist to distraction may be found among the debris and fallen timber; the fur catch is enormous. . . . ("Backyard of Canada" 2)

The beautiful scenery gives way to an equally breath-taking catalogue of untapped treasures, right, as the article's title advertises, in Canada's own "Backyard." The immediacy of the claim these narratives make on their audience is vivid: Ellis' articles, appearing for the most part in daily newspapers, were presented in the context of current news (however belated their publication sometimes was); Cameron's book ends with a series of tables providing current transportation routes for the reader who is moved to follow in *her* footsteps.

Although fourteen years separated their travels, both Cameron and Ellis were writing during the early decades of the twentieth century, when the expansion of the Canadian West and the Canadian economy, as well as Canada's growing international presence, combined to produce a heady sense of nationalism. Cameron in particular exploits the already existing discourse of the North, and Canada as a northern nation ("the True North strong and free"). Throughout the narrative, she gradually builds up a context in which the North and anything living there is stronger, more independent, more progressive and at a more advanced evolutionary stage than elsewhere. Thus she comments on the wood bison near Fort Smith:

> Their wandering northward from the scoured and hunted prairies has not only saved them from extinction but has developed in them resistance and robust vitality. These bison appear darker and larger than their pictured cousins of the past. Probably the inner hair of these is finer and of thicker texture, a difference which the change of habitat to more northern latitudes would easily account for. (*NN* 147)

Her diction is revealing: they "appear" darker and larger, "[p]robably" the hair is finer; Cameron really offers no scientific data to back up her assumptions. The

description of the bison, however, leads into an ongoing categorization of northern species' superiority, culminating in her extremely positive ethnographic reclamation of the Inuit from the negative stereotypes of the South. For five chapters (12-15) in the centre of the text, at the northern limits of her travels, Cameron analyzes the appearance, physical abilities, intelligence, character, and culture of the Mackenzie Delta Inuit, concluding that they are ideally suited to their homeland and, all in all, a superior race.

While a thorough post-colonial analysis of her representation of northern indigenous peoples lies beyond the scope of this chapter, it is worth noting that although Cameron's narrative makes no mention of the fact, her visit to Fort McPherson coincided with Vilhjalmur Stefansson's presence at the settlement. His subsequent publications embarked on a project to reclaim the Arctic from its characterization as a barren region of death, and the Inuit from the stereotypes of European representation. By the time of Ellis' travels in 1922, Stefansson's highly successful books were a matter of public record, and they no doubt fueled interest in the North in the 1920s and influenced Ellis' writings.[35] However, Cameron's travels predate Stefansson's books. Although he indicates that Cameron was not at all interested in his services as interpreter, it is interesting to speculate on the extent to which his knowledge and theories about the North may have influenced her own.[36]

The discourse of northern progress facilitates the other theme which sets these Canadian texts apart from the two earlier accounts by Taylor and Colcleugh. Both Cameron and Ellis were, as I have noted, professional journalists and members of the CWPC executive. As such, they were both interested in women's presence and activities in the North, and highlighted women in their writing. Pazdro has identified Cameron's feminism as an "equal rights" feminism, distinct from the more dominant brand of "maternal" feminism in which the demand for women's participation in society and politics was predicated upon the assumption that women were morally superior and naturally nurturing, and would, as a result of this natural constitution of their characters, contribute towards the development of a kinder, gentler society. Throughout *The New North*, although Cameron's dominant and final message serves as a summons to join the adventure of northern development, the recurring subtext is that of women's presence and equality in the project. Thus she describes women's position in Chipewyan society:

> The Chipewyan wife is the New Red Woman. We see in her the essential head of the household. No fur is sold to the trader, no yard or pound of goods bought, without her expressed consent. Indeed, the traders refuse to make a bargain of any kind with a Chipewyan man without the active approbation of the wife. When a Chipewyan family moves camp, it is Mrs. Chipewyan who directs the line of march. How did she happen to break away from the bonds that limit and restrain most Red brides? This is the question that has troubled ethnologists since the North was first invaded by the scientific. We think we have found the answer. (132)

Cameron goes on to describe the phalarope, a species of shore bird, in which the female lays the eggs but the male incubates them. Nature, she implies, dictates women's independence in the North (132-33). The apparent preponderance on Smith Portage of the female mosquito (the one that bites) becomes, whimsically, evidence that "once more in the North the suffragette comes into her own" (141). When the narrative reaches the Mackenzie Delta and begins to analyze Inuit customs of polygyny, Cameron casts the custom as a work-sharing strategy initiated by Inuit women. Thus, always with a light-hearted tone, Cameron invokes the discourse of northern progress and advancement towards a superior form of development, and uses it to underwrite her own project of equal-rights feminism. The North provides an environment for the superior evolution of British civilization in the Canadian national context—and an inevitable mark of that superiority will be equal rights for women, underwritten by the discourse of northern superiority. It is all presented with a sense of tongue-in-cheek impudence, but the feminist agenda is pervasive and continuing. Like Anna Jameson in Sault Ste. Marie seventy-two years earlier, Cameron makes use of ethnographic analysis and the appeal of the travel account as a space for a feminist analysis of her own society. In this case, the redefinition of northern adventure, from wilderness to the pageantry of social and national progress, creates a space for women's participation.

Both Cameron and Ellis focus on individual women in the North, and bring them, as well as the heroic and famous male figures, to the attention of their readers. Ellis published an entire article on "A Business Woman in the Far North—Mrs. Connibear of Fort Smith"; in 1925, it appeared in the *Canadian Countryman*, and, in 1927, with only a few revisions, the same piece was republished in the Vancouver *Sunday Province*. Her papers also contain typescript drafts of articles about women in the North, although descriptions of Inuit tend to be portraits of generalized 'types,' while papers about white women focus on specific individuals. Throughout *The New North*, Cameron also highlights women's presence and activities, from her discussions with Mrs. Gaudet of Fort Good Hope (208-10, 325) to encounters with Mrs. Herron of the HBC who tells her about Old Fort Rae (172), Miss Christine Gordon, an independent trader operating in opposition to the HBC (64), Mrs. MacDonald, wife of Archdeacon Macdonald and translator of the Gospels, whom Cameron depicts "discuss[ing] fur and deer-meat with Jack Johnson" (250-51) and visiting relatives the length of the Mackenzie (314), and the two "Mrs. Oo-ai-voo-ak[s]," the co-wives in the Inuit family on which Cameron bases her ethnographic conclusions. In each case, the women are described as active participants in the life of the North, rather than isolated icons of civilization confined within their tiny domestic spaces.

This conscious focus on the women of the North in narratives of the early decades of the twentieth century stands in stark contrast to the narrative published by Lady Clara Vyvyan in 1961, based on her 1926 journey to Aklavik by steamer and then west over the divide via the Rat, Bell, Porcupine, and Yukon rivers to Fort Yukon. In many ways, Vyvyan's travels were the most adventurous of all the journeys discussed in this dissertation. Determined not to retrace their steps, she and

Dorrien Smith arranged through the HBC to hire guides and undertake an overland journey away from the steamer routes and into wilderness where they had to travel under their own physical power. Parting with their guides just over the height of land, the two women, with very little previous experience, paddled themselves downstream alone for two days until they reached Old Crow, where they hired another guide to lead them to Fort Yukon, in Alaska. However, Vyvyan's narrative was produced, not in the twenties when the North was on the verge of air travel and economic development, but in 1961, when, at the age of 76, she was also writing her autobiography. At the end of a long career of travel writing in the tradition of Robert Louis Stevenson, she had honed her talents in the art of the character sketch and the evocation of local colour. Her depictions of northern characters, such as Captain Cameron, former whaler and "hardened old sinner" (76), or Canon Hester, the simple shepherd of the Inuit, stand beside any in the tradition of northern characters.

Although like the other women writers discussed here Vyvyan was writing a non-fiction travel narrative describing a journey and the land she travelled through, unlike those writers she was looking back over thirty-five years to evoke a past event. Her narrative lacks the immediate political agenda explicit in the writings of Cameron and Ellis, and eschews the provision of information, in the forms of dates, histories, descriptions, and facts and figures, preferring the creation of literary atmosphere. One example will suffice to illustrate this difference. Both Agnes Deans Cameron and Lady Vyvyan encounter Pierre Squirrel, Slavey chief of the Fort Smith band. Cameron meets him as a middle-aged man, in 1908, and he enters the narrative as she is discussing the bison herd near Fort Smith:

> Upon my chatting with Chief Pierre Squirrel, and admiring largely his magenta mosquito-veil, the astute chap tells me that he himself, back of Fort Smith a few years ago, saw a full-grown buffalo pulled down and the flesh literally torn off it by woodland wolves, strong brutes, he assured me, which weighed from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds each. (148-49)

Vyvyan encounters him eighteen years later, and offers this description:

> We were introduced to several [of the Slavey people], including the chief, whose name was Squirrel. Mr. Brabant could remember him in full war-paint and feathers, but now he wore a yachting cap and a slouching blue serge suit and had long gray hair about his shoulders. The patient expression in his glazed eyes seemed to reflect the light of ancient fires. (36)

In Cameron's narrative, "Chief Pierre Squirrel" is identified by full name and title, just as any of the male sources of information whom Cameron quotes in her narrative. He appears as an authority on the North; his presence validates both the data provided and the value of Cameron's travels, since they give her access to such expertise and experience, even though her own presence in the region is of such short duration. In Vyvyan's representation, however, he becomes "the chief, whose name was Squirrel"; it is his identification as a "chief," a stereotypical figure of northern indigeneity, that

is important, and his surname is merely added as a picturesque supplement. He is inarticulate and silenced in Vyvyan's text, no longer a speaking subject but subjected to the white male authority who introduces him. Here, the source of the information is not the Slavey chief but Angus Brabant of the HBC, and his information marks Squirrel as an icon of a past, dying age. Rather than the unexpected and vibrant note of Cameron's "magenta mosquito veil," his shabby and understated appearance underlines his lack of importance, except as a symbol of the vanishing and degenerate native, in Vyvyan's version of the North.

Although the extent of the Rat River trip was unconventional for its time, Vyvyan's representation of the North is a fairly conventional one. She reveals in the opening pages of *Arctic Adventure* that she was inspired by the poetry of Robert Service, and it is very much in the spirit of his writings about the wilderness and the challenge it presents to the individual hero's spirit that she conceives of her own adventure. Rather than redefine the terms of the northern adventure, Vyvyan appropriates the older model of the North as a site for wilderness adventure, challenging the "malignant Rat" (41, 100) and winning through all that the northern wilderness can, in nineteen days in midsummer, throw at herself and Dorrien Smith.

Vyvyan's desire to find a northern wilderness adventure colours her representation of northern communities and inhabitants throughout the steamer journey that precedes the wilderness climax of the narrative. Throughout the text, Vyvyan records the colourful and picturesque stories of the old-timers of the northern communities, adding local colour and the allure of various tales of northern struggle and survival as context for the trial she and Dorrien Smith are about to face. However, the northern speakers in her text are primarily male. She did meet women in the North. Her field notes mention a visit by Mrs. Whittaker ("Alaska" 2-3 June, 1 July), but in the published narrative their visitor becomes Mrs. Whittaker's husband, the Archdeacon. Vyvyan is particularly impressed by Miss Ross, nurse at Fort McMurray (3 June), and Mrs. Burgland (28 July) and Mrs. Linklater (29 July), both at Fort Yukon, but they simply disappear in the published book, which offers a North populated primarily by male adventurers. In addition, whenever Vyvyan finds herself in a social situation with one of the women resident in the North, she rebels:

> We spent much time listening to yarns with never a dull moment except when we were alone with the womenfolk. After being artificially animated for five minutes on the subjects of babies and cooking, Gwen and I would nearly expire. There would be a heavy silence while we watched the door and longed for the appearance of the men who would enliven us with tales of action and information on natural history. (36)

Women, in Vyvyan's narrative, are maternal and domestic, and hence boring, staid and unadventurous.

Vyvyan highlights the unconventionality of the women's journey into the wilderness, as signalled by her mother's opposition, by the public attention their plans drew, and by the constant spectre of the unnamed (in her published narrative) woman who failed, the year before, because her guides refused to take her any farther when

she tried to give them orders. This unconventionality depends upon the retention of conventional representations of the North as wilderness, and the wilderness as a space for masculine adventure—so that, as two women alone, she and Dorrien Smith are exceptional. But the heroism of their own achievements relies upon the discursive confinement of all other women to the domestic space. Their encounter with the wilderness and the spiritual fulfilment represented by the their successful passage up the difficult Rat River and over the height of land, and the paradisiacal drift down the Porcupine River alone, remains an individual triumph, available only to the travellers, and vicariously, to the reader. It is a model of wilderness adventure that appropriates, rather than redefines, the gendered terms of adventure. Thus the discourse of adventure is reproduced with little difference in how it represents other women. Textually, even though Vyvyan's is a tale of female adventure, these adventurers are still "in flight from women" (Zweig 61).

As I have shown in this chapter, although women's narratives were shaped by the conditions of their travel and by the literary traditions associated with the regions through which they travelled, the material conditions of publication—in magazines, newspapers, or book form—also had considerable influence on the shape in which women's narratives of travel reached the public. The nostalgic, evocative style of Vyvyan's narrative doubtless owes a great deal to the fact that it was published for an English audience thirty-five years after the journey it describes, and only one year before the first volume of her autobiography, *Roots and Stars* (1962), appeared. At that geographical and temporal distance from the actual events, the creation of a wilderness adventure with significance in the context of a writer's life meant more than the accurate and detailed description of northern history, communities, peoples and conditions in 1926. Whatever notes, observations, stories, sketches, and samples a traveller—of either gender—might return with, the shaping of that information for public consumption was a function of the metropolitan centre, rather than of the region travelled. As my examination of Mina Hubbard's Labrador explorations in the next chapter reveals, the 'meaning' of a narrative of travel thus lies as much in the conditions of its publication and reception by the reading public, as in the conditions under which the individual traveller made her journey.

Notes

1. The search for origins, however vain, is sometimes irresistible. Taylor's 1894-95 article is the earliest first-person published travel writing about the Mackenzie River by a woman that I have thus far located.

2. Certainly the white women who lived there travelled between the forts and occasionally "out" of the North on the same route; many of the travellers discussed in this chapter mention resident women as fellow passengers on the steamers. However, other women travelled these routes, lured north by the same combination of tourism literature and romantic history that appealed to the writers discussed here. Miriam Green Ellis notes the presence on Great Slave Lake of a British army major and his wife, there for sport fishing ("Sports" 173-74). Lady Vyvyan's narrative refers both to an unnamed woman traveller whose guides abandoned her on the same route that Vyvyan and Dorrien Smith are travelling (*Arctic Adventure* 97), and also to Laura Frazeur, a teacher and university professor from Chicago, who travelled the Mackenzie River to Fort McPherson, and passed over the Peel River Portage in 1925 (13). While Vyvyan's published narrative never connects these two women, her field notes (27 May) make it clear that they are the same person. Vyvyan's Laura Frazeur was born Annie Laurie Renshaw (1871-1933), and she was indeed a teacher of classics at various schools and colleges in the Chicago area; she married Jesse Frazeur in 1890 (Rayfield). She was a member of the American Alpine Club, the Geographical Society of Chicago, and the Mountaineers of Seattle ("Mrs. Frazeur"). She did publish an account of the Mountaineers' ascent of Mount Baker in 1916 ("With the Mountaineers"), but I have been unable to locate any written account of Laura Frazeur's trip to northern Canada.

3. See Ellis, who actually quotes one woman resident repeating this statement in 1922 ("Sports" 174).

4. William Barr and Glyndwr Williams identify Kitty Smith as the first woman to winter at York Fort on Hudson Bay (56). She travelled there with her husband, Francis Smith, an explorer searching for a Northwest Passage through Hudson Straits in 1746-47. Although she is not mentioned in contemporary published narratives of the voyage, she does appear in James Isham's unpublished journal (Isham 253, 254, 279-81, 289).

5. Extracts from the journals and letters of Selina Bompas were published in *A Heroine of the North* (1929). Other book-length narratives of women's travel or residence in the North, published later than the period of this study, include Louisa Rourke's *Land of the Frozen Tide* (1928), Luta Munday's *A Mounty's Wife* (1930), Martha Black's *My Seventy Years* (1938), Laura Berton's *I*

Married the Klondike (1954), Emily Craig Romig's *A Pioneer Woman in Alaska* (1945) (describing her trip to the Klondike by way of the Mackenzie, Rat, and Yukon rivers), and Jean Godsell's *I Was No Lady* (1959).

6. According to Hail and Duncan, prominent "tourists" who preceded Taylor and Colcleugh included Hugh Lowther, Earl of Lonsdale (1888), Warburton Pike (1889), the Count de Sainville (1889-93), naturalists J.B. and J.W. Tyrrell (1893), and naturalist Frank Russell (1803) (44).

7. Vyvyan had already produced two books of local-colour sketches of Cornwall when she and Dorrien Smith made their trip to northern Canada; she published twenty-one other books about travel, local colour, and gardening over her career. The other northern travellers considered here did most of their writing as journalists, publishing in magazines and newspapers. By the end of the nineteenth century, structural changes in the newspaper business had made journalism more accessible to women than it had been; as newspapers began to separate themselves from allegiance to political parties, they sought revenue from a broader public readership, and attempted to attract a female readership by publishing material by and for women (Lang 79). As a result, women who wanted to write professionally found that magazines and newspapers not only offered them access to publication, but also provided them with an income. Several of the women travel writers whom I mention in this dissertation (e.g. Duncan, Spragge, Macdonald, Taylor, Colcleugh, Cameron, and Ellis) published their travels in the periodical or daily press; some of them were professional journalists, while others wrote part-time in order to pay for their travel during vacations, or perhaps simply found the popular press the most accessible means of publication when they chose to write. There is no doubt that the rise of the woman journalist directly contributed to the increasing numbers of women travellers at the end of the century.

8. Taylor's trip was in fact only two years previous.

9. She was mistaken; see Taylor, "Woman" 305 and Colcleugh 111.

10. In her biography of Mrs. Cortlandt Starnes, a RNWMP wife, Claudia Peters notes that when Corporal Starnes was posted to the Yukon in September 1897, the route to Dawson City over the Chilkoot Pass

> was considered impossible for a woman, so Mrs. Starnes . . . waited a year trying to devise some plan for joining her husband. The pass was out of the question, and her husband would not hear of her coming by boat up the Yukon river, as the previous summer some of the steamers sailing from Seattle had arrived so late that the passengers had been forced to put in a miserable winter at Nome, Alaska. Finally, when she despaired of ever getting in at all, word came that the Dominion

> Government had decided to send a force of two hundred men, with twelve officers, under Colonel Evans to Dawson City, to be known as the Yukon Field Force. With them Lady Aberdeen was sending five Victorian Order Nurses. Mrs. Starnes at once set out for Ottawa to persuade the powers there that she must, at all costs, be included in this party. (24)

The party also included Faith Fenton, correspondent for the *Toronto Globe* (25). It was not only transportation difficulties that created material obstacles for women wanting to reach the North. The seven women of Mrs. Starnes' party had all prepared outfits of heavy boots and short (i.e. reaching to the top of the boot) skirts for their 150-mile trek from Glenora, on the Stikine River, to Teslin Lake, where a boat was to take them the rest of the way to Dawson City. However, the colonel commanding the party took exception when he noticed that one of the women had shortened her skirt to just below her knees. "He said that, with two hundred soldiers in the party, so short a skirt was out of the question" (Peters 25). The woman was sent back to Fort Wrangle, where she could obtain material with which to lengthen her skirt.

11. The *Wrigley* offered no passenger accommodation, and Taylor reports sleeping on hay bales.

12. Whether they planned it or not, women travelling north often found themselves informally escorted by members of the Church, the HBC, or other northern institutions. Even by 1926, the HBC steamer transport offered only three trips a year to Fort McPherson. Inevitably, their main passengers in the early years were church officials, HBC and RCMP inspectors, and government agents, all willing to keep an eye on the few women travelling in the North. The surveillance, as Taylor's narrative reveals, while not necessarily unwelcome, was certainly pervasive.

13. James Wickes Taylor (1819-93) was an American secret agent during the 1869-70 insurrection at Red River (Knox, "Consul Taylor of Red River" 16) and served as United States Consul at Winnipeg from 1870-93. He urged political union between the United States and the Canadian Northwest, was active in the American purchase of Alaska, and was deeply involved in the transcontinental railway projects in both Canada and the United States (Nute, "Paris" 19). He is also credited with having taken swift action to ensure that the Fenian raids on Winnipeg were prevented by the American army, and he was instrumental in saving Western Canada from invasion from the South by First Nations groups during the 1885 unrest (Knox, "Consul Taylor of Winnipeg" 35). He was a highly respected member of Winnipeg society, particularly among the HBC officers, who were politically opposed to the Protestant Canadian faction which moved west following the Riel Rebellions,

and whom he believed were sympathetic to American annexation (37). He had made the Mackenzie River journey himself prior to his daughter's travels (E. Taylor to Carver). His standing with HBC officials was certainly sufficient for his daughter to obtain permission to travel on HBC transport on her northern journey.

14. Women could, as I have noted above, become mission workers, teachers, or nurses, but these occupations accorded for the most part with women's cultural status as domestic nurturers and purveyors of 'civilization'. Kelcey notes women's relative lack of mobility in northern settlements, their confinement to their houses (45) and communities. Mina Hubbard, for instance, on her journey through Labrador to Ungava Bay, encountered an indigenous community of women and children waiting for their men to return from the hard summer trek out to the coastal trading post at Davis Inlet (*Woman's Way* 189-95); on her arrival at George River Post on Ungava Bay, where she spent six weeks exploring the surrounding countryside, Hubbard found that Mrs. Ford, who had lived there for twenty-two years, had never been even so much as a few hours' paddle up the George River ("Diary" 1 Sept. 1905).

15. This idea of a changing and advancing North was and remains but one of many competing discourses about the region, and that its appearance in an Edmonton newspaper is not an accident. In 1891, with the arrival of the railway just across the North Saskatchewan in Strathcona, Edmonton had begun to promote itself as the Gateway to the North. The boosterism which marked the advancement of the Western prairies towards civilization eagerly fastened, at least in imagination, on the commercial and resource potential of the North. Soon after the travels of Taylor and Colcleugh, the Klondike gold rush broke out, and the *Edmonton Bulletin* joined the other boosters of the province in promoting an all-Canadian route to the goldfields through Edmonton. The paper, in asserting so assuredly in 1892 that "Times are changed," was perhaps being a touch optimistic, given the numerous deaths that occurred among those who chose to travel through Edmonton to the Klondike (MacGregor). Throughout the period there developed in the southern imagination, alongside the idea of the North as a trackless, death-threatening wilderness to test the strength of the European male, another idea of the North as a source of treasures other than furs. By the 1890s, there was already a healthy whaling industry wintering at Herschel Island, and, indeed, in 1909 Agnes Deans Cameron was berating her British and Canadian audience, in *The New North*, for their laxity in competing with the American whalers (281-302); the oil projects at Norman Wells were the excuse Miriam Green Ellis offered her editor when she requested he send her north ("Down North" 2-3). The idea of the North as a source of industrially exploitable resources was, then, a part of the changing imaginative conception of the

region which contributed to the appearance and increase of women's travel writing about the region.

16. A somewhat different body of women's writing appeared to document journeys to the Klondike. Mary E. Hitchcock related her summer visit to the region in *Two Women in the Klondike: The Story of a Journey to the Gold-Fields of Alaska* (1899). In *Glimpses of Sunshine and Shade in the Far North; or, My Travels in the Land of the Midnight Sun* (1900), Lulu Alice Craig describes her journey over the Chilcoot Pass to the Klondike in 1898. Emily Craig Romig, Martha Black, and Laura Berton all produced later memoirs of residence in the gold-rush towns of the North, although they were not all there during the height of the gold rush. Frances Backhouse's study of women in the Klondike cites a series of contemporary magazine articles relating the experiences of women in the Klondike (Oliver, Kelly, Shaw, Crane). I have chosen, in this chapter, to focus on women's travel writing about the Mackenzie River valley, and the relationship between those writings and the transportation and publishing infrastructures which produced them. Significant differences between the Klondike narratives and those of the Mackenzie River travellers include the fact that women's Klondike narratives often describe winter journeys and longer residences in the North (Mary Hitchcock's summer journey is an exception to this), and the narratives of those who entered the Klondike via either the overland route from Edmonton (Romig) or the Chilcoot Pass (Craig) describe far more rigorous journeys than those taken by women on the Mackenzie River steamers. Melanie J. Mayer, Backhouse, Kelcey, Carolyn Anne Moore, and Charlene L. Porsild have all produced studies of women in the Klondike.

17. There is no Oregon River; if Holmes had a real river in mind, it was probably the Columbia.

18. When material discovery or even new scientific information failed the traveller, a sufficiently entertaining adventure story could still construct the trip as a success, as John Franklin demonstrated on his return from the first Arctic Land Expedition, when his failure to find the Northwest Passage still resulted in the lavish publication of his *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823) by John Murray. Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., who died in Labrador after failing to achieve any of the stated goals of his expedition, still considered the acquisition of enough hair-raising adventure to create "a bully story" to be sufficient success ("Diary" 15 Sept. 1903).

19. Vyvyan repeatedly notes her boredom in female company; she and Dorrien Smith have come north for wilderness adventure, and have no interest in the domestic trials of the wives of fur traders and government officials (*Arctic Adventure* 36, 45-46).

20. In a letter to Fannie C. Burr, Taylor describes learning how to skin a bird, and details the equipment and preparations she is making, as well as her plans to write to "several scientific men & see if they will pay me" for natural history specimens (25 Feb. 1892). The Minnesota Historical Society (MHS), which holds the Elizabeth Taylor Papers as part of the Dunn Family Papers, also holds in Taylor's 1892 Correspondence file a letter to (10 Mar. 1892) and reply from (26 Mar. 1892) J.A. Allen, Curator of the Department of Mammalogy and Ornithology, American Museum of Natural History, so it is evident that Taylor did follow up on her intentions. Edward Preble cites "birds, mammals, fishes, insects, and plants" among the collection she submitted to the Smithsoninan (77). Taylor is the only woman whose name appears in Preble's 1908 summary of previous explorations in the Mackenzie region, in *A biological investigation of the Athabasca-Mackenzie region*. He comments that Taylor's collections, "though not extensive, have already formed the basis of at least two papers" (77), and the Grey Herbarium at Harvard University, finding that some of her samples were new varieties, named them for her (Alden 3). John Macoun noted in the *Ottawa Naturalist* that her collections were "of much interest and demonstrat[e] clearly what good scientific results may be obtained by an observant traveller with a little trouble if only there be a wish to make the most of such opportunities as may arise" (118). Emma Shaw Colcleugh also undertook some scientific work as well as gathering material for later writing. She told the *Edmonton Bulletin* that she would

> use her experience here for illustrating lecture and magazine work. She took over 200 photos with her kodak and also secured ivory ornaments from the Esquimaux, bone knives, used for cutting snow to make huts with, spear heads, pipes, arrows, drums, etc. These she will keep as mementos of her trip. ("Mrs. Emma" 1)

Colcleugh's ethnographic collection eventually became part of the Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology at Brown University (Hail and Duncan).

21. I am grateful to James Taylor Dunn's article, "To Edmonton in 1892," for bringing this correspondence to my attention.

22. Given the institutional control Kelcey notes that northern administrators preferred to maintain over women travelling in 'their' territories (152), and Donald Smith's discouragement of the enterprise, it is perhaps not out of place to wonder if Elizabeth Taylor's HBC contact suggested the Mackenzie route because of the limited opportunity the region's transportation facilities offered for escaping the surveillance of northern authority figures. Taylor is handed from HBC inspector to bishop and back throughout her northern journey, and is rarely without "a suitable escort": she begins her journey with HBC

Inspector James McDougall, who heads west into the Peace River country from Athabasca Landing, but she is joined on the steamer north by the bishop of the Mackenzie River Diocese ("Woman" 47), and McDougall rejoins her at Fort Chipewyan (120). Taylor had initially planned to hire "a good reliable half breed woman, as companion" and servant (E. Taylor to Carver), but as her plans developed, she found it was unnecessary (J.W. Taylor to Smith, 26 Mar. 1892).

23. Cameron uses a similar strategy to correct the South's negative depictions of the frozen North and of "Eskimo" savages, as represented by school textbooks (a particularly effective strategy, given her former occupation as teacher), in order to validate Inuit culture and reclaim Inuit as a people with the potential to play an equal part in a multi-racial (but Anglo-centric) British Empire. However, this positive portrayal of the Inuit can also be read in a post-colonial context, as yet another appropriation of the Inuit culture and reproduction of them in the service of Cameron's own brand of feminism and imperialism. She does not, ultimately, question the value of Western encroachment on the Arctic, and in fact blatantly encourages economic exploitation of northern resources.

24. In a manuscript apparently written after she left Fort McPherson, Taylor relates this incident differently. Beside a tiny sketch in the ms, she notes: "This is a portrait of the first woman who greeted me on the beach, grasping with cordialty [sic] my hand in hers which was most unpleasant with whale oil, while she giggled over my spectacles which amused them all very much" (Elizabeth Taylor Papers). In her letters to Carver and Burr the preceding winter, Taylor had complained frequently about eye trouble. In the narrative, the Inuit woman's hilarity at the sight of Taylor, rather than merely at her spectacles, serves to reinforce once again the novelty of her trip and implies (although Taylor never actually makes the claim) that the Peel River Inuit have never seen white women.

25. Catherine Stevenson identifies some of these stock scenes as Kingsley's parody of the great white hunter in her encounter with some elephants (Stevenson 130) and her 'rescue' of one of her men from a hostile village, by talking him out of the local court's imminent conviction of him as a defaulting debtor (131); in Taylor's, I would identify the diminuendo of her unnoticed scenes of departure and return, as well as the other incidents identified above. Taylor's use of the mock-heroic does not extend to the complex political purposes Stevenson identifies in Mary Kingsley's work, however (132-36).

26. Not only the content of women's travel narratives, but even the structure, pace and mood are often shaped by the conditions of transportation. For example, Taylor, camped on an island in Grand Rapids for several days while the men

of the brigade portage the boats and cargo to the head of the island, comments:

> That small island might have been in the land of the Lotus eaters, in spite of its stern northern aspect. The deep roar of the rapids and the rustle of the firs gave one a delightful drowsiness, and the world we had left seemed too far away for any disturbing sense of a feeling of homesickness. . . . by degrees we fell into a delightful indifference, and it seemed occupation enough to sit in the doorway of one's tent watching the distant hills. ("Woman" 51)

A similar sense of timelessness and of distance from 'the world' pervades Clara Vyvyan's description of crossing Great Slave Lake on the S.S. *Distributor* (40-43). The inactivity women travellers in the North experienced, either as travellers at the mercy of a transportation system which existed primarily for the goods being transported rather than for passenger convenience, like Taylor, or as steamer passengers, like Vyvyan, led to a sense of timeless ease and lethargy. Lacking control over their own schedules and without active participation in either the pageant of the fur trade's activity or any other employment to provide temporal structure, women travellers in the North were particularly prone to represent the region as a timeless, purposeless limbo. For Elizabeth Taylor, this sense of purposeless atemporality is identified with "the laziness of the brigade" (52): the North's temptation to laziness has moral connotations, and must be resisted. For Vyvyan, it becomes at times a dangerous trap in which men become "lost" in the spell of the North (42); at other times, such as when she and Dorrien Smith are floating downstream alone after crossing the height of land between the Bell and Porcupine rivers, the sense of timelessness is a reward, manifesting in a golden, effortless voyage through a paradisiacal landscape, the culmination of the women's efforts to cross the Richardson Mountains.

27. The magazine's full title from April 1885 to March 1906 was *Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation.*

28. Indeed, the rhetorical opposition between the civilized and untouchable woman traveller and the indigenes who convey her northward functions, in "A Woman in the Mackenzie Delta," as a strategy of control which serves to heighten her authority.

29. Interestingly, Mina Hubbard (see next chapter) would later invoke the figure of her pastor, Dr. James E.C. Sawyer, as her advisor and guide during the planning and writing of her travels (*Woman's Way* xi). The invocation of a religious advisor serves, for both women, the purpose of placating conservative readers who might question the morality of the female traveller's venture into dangerous territory. See my discussion, in the next chapter, of

Mina Hubbard's use of the sanctity of widowhood to contain the threat that wilderness travel posed to the social identity of women.

30. Because Colcleugh was a journalist and had ties to both the Providence *Evening Bulletin* and the *Boston Transcript* at this time, she may well have published articles in those papers about her travels. I have been unable to locate any such articles, however, and Hail and Duncan do not cite any. They do refer briefly to the article in *Catholic World*, which I shall be discussing, and they rely more heavily on a series of autobiographical pieces entitled "I Saw These Things," which appeared on the Women's Page of the *Evening Bulletin* in September 1932; three of these relate her Canadian travels ("Traveller Makes Second Visit," "Wonders Depicted" and "Writer Recalls Trip"). However, because the date of their publication lies outside the scope of this thesis, and they appear in the context of memoirs of a life written some thirty-eight years after Colcleugh's journey, I will not be dealing with them in detail.

31. The incidents also appear in *The New North* 30-31 and 53, 376.

32. Cameron's pre-Mackenzie River (1908) articles include "The Idea of True Citizenship—How Shall We Develop It?", "Parent and Teacher," "In the Mother-Land," "The Broughton Street School," "The Lost British Sloop-of-War," "The First Steamer on the Pacific," "Where West is East and East is West," "Greater Britain on the Pacific" (with Vincent Harper), "The First Pacific Steamer," "Wheat, the Wizard of the North," "Two Thousand Miles to Deliver a Letter," "New Words with Crops of Yellow Wheat" and "Pathfinders of the Silence: Edmonton, the Raw-Fur Market of the World;" the publication of the latter four articles before her Mackenzie River trip gives an indication of the research she did prior to her journey, and the knowledge and understanding of the North she took with her. Later articles, not about the North, include "To Success—Walk Your Own Road" and "The Orchards of Ontario." Articles published after her northern journey, either about the North or about her travels, include "Sentinels of the Silence: Canada's Royal Northwest Mounted Police," "Riders of the Plains: Canada's Royal North-West Mounted Police," "From Winnipeg to the Arctic Ocean," and "The Arctic Host and Hostess." See the list of Works Cited for bibliographic information about these publications. No one has yet produced a complete bibliography of Cameron's work, and this list is not exhaustive, but it does bely David R. Richeson's suggestion that "*The New North* remains almost her only legacy" (xi).

33. Cameron had several clashes with the Victoria School Board over educational policies, culminating in the three-year suspension of her teaching licence effective 1 June 1906, as a result of her having allowed students to use rulers

in drawing tests for high school entrance examinations. Cameron was the only principal dismissed over the matter; three male principals accused of having also allowed ruled drawings retained their positions. Describing the sequence of events in detail, Pazdro has concluded that Cameron was the victim of a deliberate campaign to remove her from the South Park School (103-09, 113-15).

34. As the newspaper industry found a use for women journalists in its attempts to augment subscription revenues by appealing to women readers, more and more women searching for a means of earning a living began to turn to journalism. Despite the risqué connotations of journalism, many middle-class women who had to support themselves found writing for newspapers less threatening to their social status and more lucrative than more manual employment. Cameron turned to journalism when her teaching career collapsed. Colcleugh funded her summer travels with freelance journalism, but began to work full time when her marriage ended. Emily Murphy supported her family by writing for the *Canadian Monthly and National Review* when her husband fell ill and his income disappeared. Marjory Lang suggests that most of the women journalists of the period "had urgent financial need for a regular salary," and writing for the popular press produced a more reliable income than attempting to publish a book (86). However, one consequence of these material conditions is that the demands of a career in journalism precluded other literary work, and the writing that women did produce in this venue, although it reached a wide audience, was not in a form which would survive (84-85). The ephemeral nature of the popular press means that many early women writers remain unknown, and research on their writings is difficult and expensive.

35. Of the nine articles, based on Ellis' northern travels, contained in the Miriam Green Ellis Collection, five deal almost exclusively with descriptions of the Inuit. Much of the same material is recycled, and although Ellis does (with an occasional purple passage) discuss the issues of cannibalism, murder, and infanticide, she also stresses the cultural context of these customs, and overall presents a positive depiction of the Inuit. Like Cameron's, Ellis' ethnography is highly Eurocentric and promotes northern development, despite its generally positive tone. The articles focussing primarily on the Inuit are self-evident from their titles.

36. I speculate as to Stefansson's influence on Cameron, rather than vice versa, because his experience of the North was already far broader than hers, even at the beginning of his career. Also, it is unlikely that Stefansson would have been influenced by Cameron's opinions, given his remarks about her:

> July 14th the steamer *Mackenzie River* arrived, bringing, besides the officers and men of the Hudson's Bay Company, Dr. Anderson and two women travelers, Miss Agnes Deans Cameron and Miss Jessie Brown. Miss Cameron had come to get material for a book on the Mackenzie River and listened eagerly to all the stories she heard about the North. Most of these were picturesque, but judging from the ones which I personally heard related to Miss Cameron I should say that a considerable portion of them were scarcely gospel truth. I happened to be, besides the missionary Mr. Whittaker, the only person present who spoke any Eskimo at all, and I therefore volunteered my services to Miss Cameron as her interpreter, but she declined them graciously, saying she preferred to get her impressions at first hand. She went into a considerable number of Eskimo tents for the purpose of securing information and local color. I have since heard what it was that the Eskimo thought she asked them, but I have not yet learned what it was that she thought they told her in reply. (33)

Archdeacon Whittaker also comments somewhat disparagingly on Cameron's activities (qtd in Kelcey 131-32). Few people seem to have had neutral feelings about Agnes Deans Cameron.

CHAPTER FIVE

"Just a little like an explorer"
Mina Hubbard and the Making of *A Woman's Way*

> . . . they who read will most linger upon the strength of purpose which underlay the achievement. The husband's spirit descended upon the expedition. Courage and devotion failed not the untried leader, nor skill and faithfulness the men who kept their trust.
>
> The long-time traveller of the north must adjust his eyes to a new horizon before seeing as it is this latest picture. The embarkation of a woman, slight, young, with her four Indians. . . . (Cabot 28)

Thus William B. Cabot introduces the 1908 London edition of the narrative by Mina Benson Hubbard (1870-1956) describing her 1905 expedition across Labrador from Hamilton Inlet to the mouth of the George River (near present-day Kangiqsualujjuaq) on Ungava Bay. Cabot frames Hubbard's narrative with an emphasis on her gender and inexperience, and he roots the expedition's success in "[t]he husband's spirit" (24). In doing so, he both draws attention to the novelty of a female explorer, and also follows the lead of Mina Hubbard herself, who throughout the published narrative subordinates her achievements to the memory of her dead husband.

This chapter focusses on the production and reproduction of Mina Hubbard's story: in the field notes she kept during the journey and the newspaper accounts of her endeavour; in the four articles and the book, entitled *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* (*WW*) (1908), that she published in the three years following the trip; in the book reviews which reveal how her gender inflected her narrative's reception by contemporary readers; and in the various retellings of Hubbard's story, by subsequent travellers in Labrador, by writers of Labrador history, and by the editors of more recent recuperations of women's wilderness narratives. The evolution of Mina Hubbard's narrative in her own telling documents the production of a woman explorer, as she negotiates the twin imperatives of femininity and of authority in placing her story before the public; subsequent inscriptions of the Hubbard saga cast light on the changing cultural contexts for inscribing women's stories into a wilderness landscape.

Mina Hubbard was born Mina Benson, in Cobourg, Ontario. She trained as a nurse in Brooklyn and New York, and was assistant superintendent at the S.R. Smith Infirmary at Staten Island when she met Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., a young journalist then recovering from tuberculosis. They were married in 1901, and he died two years later in the Labrador wilderness on an exploring expedition ("Ellis, Mrs." 373-74). As the assistant editor of *Outing Magazine*, a New England serial of outdoor sport and adventure, Leonidas Hubbard had experience in recreational canoeing, fishing and hunting, including a winter trip to Quebec and three weeks in the Missinabie region of Northern Ontario.[1] In 1903, motivated by what appears to have

been a combination of romanticism and ambition, he undertook to explore an unmapped area of the Labrador plateau, from Lake Melville to Ungava Bay; his companions on the first Hubbard expedition were Dillon Wallace, a New York lawyer, and George Elson, a Scots-Cree guide from James Bay. Lacking sufficient food, local knowledge of the country, and (except for Elson) experience in living off the land, the first Hubbard expedition took the wrong river almost from the outset, and became lost among the lakes and swamps of the Labrador plateau west of present-day Lake Melville. Hubbard died of exposure and starvation on 18 October 1903; Dillon Wallace was rescued by local trappers who were alerted to the expedition's plight by Elson, who alone had the stamina to return to Lake Melville for help.

Following his final promise to Leonidas Hubbard, Wallace wrote the story of the expedition, which was published in 1905 by *Outing* under the title *The Lure of the Labrador Wild*. However, Mina Hubbard read Wallace's text as an attempt to lay the responsibility for the expedition's failure on her husband, and when Wallace planned a second expedition to fulfil Leonidas Hubbard's ambitions himself, Mina Hubbard decided to mount her own expedition in order to vindicate her husband's name. She enlisted the help of George Elson as chief guide, and with him and three other canoemen (Joe Iserhoff and Job Chapies of Missinabi, and Gilbert Blake of Labrador) she left the Northwest River Post on 27 June 1905. Dillon Wallace's party had left hours earlier. The second Hubbard expedition arrived at Ungava Bay on 27 August;[2] Wallace, with only one companion (he sent three men back from Lake Michikamau,[3] the halfway point), arrived on 16 October, two months after Mina Hubbard's expedition. The rivalry between Leonidas Hubbard's wife and his former partner produced considerable excitement in the papers of Canada and New England at the time.[4] However, neither of the narratives (published by Wallace [1906] and Mina Hubbard [1908]) mentions the existence of the other.[5] After her book was published, Mina Hubbard remarried; she lived in England for the rest of her life.

The Making of a Woman Explorer

> To-day feel something of what I think must be an approach to the right thrill as we came up to the hilltops and prepare to leave our river to cross to Seal L. Before the situation has not seemed extraordinary. Now begin to feel just a little like an explorer. (M. Hubbard 13 July 1905)

The role of explorer was not a common one for female travellers at the turn of the century.[6] Although English-language travel books by women were being produced in ever-larger numbers, often laying claim, as I have suggested in previous chapters, to 'unbeaten' paths, 'unknown' territories, and 'darkest' geographies, white women almost never travelled into truly 'unknown' regions to do the preliminary survey and mapping work that laid claim to a region in the minds of European geographers. As Dea Birkett has shown, the scientific value of women's work was

often ambiguously acknowledged, even by themselves. In many travel narratives, scientific fieldwork is both proffered as justification for what would otherwise be self-indulgent wanderings, and at the same time marginalized within the narrative; when the woman writer simultaneously produces both travel narratives and scientific writings, the narrator's gender in the latter writings is frequently concealed (behind initials, for instance) (171-77).[7]

The ambivalence with which women's contributions to geographic knowledge were received is nowhere clearer than in women's treatment by geographical and professional societies. Women had long been accepted as members of the Scottish Geographical Society and many other scientific societies in England (Blunt 158 n12). However, the 1892-93 debate among RGS members over women's admission to that society expressed concerns over their qualifications and the possible trivializing of the cherished letters "F.R.G.S."—Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society—should that title be claimed by governesses and (female) teachers. Admiral McClintock, whose discovery of the fate of the Franklin expedition had been funded by Lady Jane Franklin, defended the resistance to women's admission as a legal point under the RGS's charter (4). George Curzon wrote to the London *Times*: "We contest *in toto* the general capability of women to contribute to scientific geographical knowledge. Their sex and training render them equally unfitted for exploration; and the genus of professional female globetrotters with which America has lately familiarized us is one of the horrors of the latter end of the 19th century" (11). The RGS had still, when Mina Hubbard spoke before it on 6 January 1908, not admitted women as members, although they were invited as speakers and a few had published in its *Geographical Journal*.

This mixed reception of women's contributions to scientific knowledge and of women's validity as travellers did not deter individual women from travelling, as the long list of women's travel books bears witness. However, institutional reluctance to give official support to women's endeavours did have the effect of limiting women's access to certain regions,[8] and their participation in some travel subgenres. Exploration required both travelling in regions undocumented by Euro-North American geography and also bringing back scientific information (narratives, maps, measurements, facts). It was an undertaking that demanded not only capital investment, but also the right institutional backing, as the mixed reception by the Royal Navy and British geographers of Samuel Hearne's exploration of the Coppermine River (sponsored by the HBC) reveals.[9] Mina Hubbard had not only to complete the journey successfully, but also to bring back observations, measurements, and figures documenting "unknown Labrador"; and she then had to gain public and institutional recognition for the accomplishment.

Publication was essential, then, if Hubbard was to achieve her goal "that [her] husband's name should reap the fruits of service which had cost him so much" (*WW* 50). Furthermore, her inclusion of her husband's diary and Elson's retrospective journal of the 1903 expedition as appendices to *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* reveals that at least part of her project was to put on public record other versions of the first Hubbard expedition than Dillon Wallace's. From the beginning,

Mina Hubbard intended to produce a book which would rival the success of Wallace's *Lure of the Labrador Wild* (the latter went through four printings in 1905 alone). Her field notes record her early struggles with the writing process throughout the two-months' wait for the supply ship at Ungava Bay.

Mina Hubbard produced six different texts based on her 1905 expedition across Labrador. Her field notes were written in a commercial diary during the journey itself. The original, along with the 1903 diary kept by Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., George Elson's 1903 journal, and the 1905 field notes kept by Elson, is in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies (CNS) at Memorial University; the National Archives of Canada (NAC) has microfilm copies.[10] As well as giving assorted lectures based on her travels in Labrador,[11] between May 1906 and April 1908 Mina Hubbard published five articles about her journey: these appeared in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, *The Englishwoman's Review*, *The Windsor Magazine*, and the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*; the latter was reprinted by the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*. Finally, in May 1908 (two years after *Outing* serialized Wallace's narrative of his journey), Mina Hubbard's narrative was published by John Murray in London, England, with an identical edition appearing under the imprint of William Briggs of Toronto, Canada; in September 1908 the McClure Company (New York) released an American edition.[12] The McClure edition was re-typeset, photographs reduced to half-page size, and the index and William Cabot's introduction appear only in the Murray/Briggs edition, but aside from these details there are no substantive differences between the 1908 texts. Doubleday released another imprint in 1909, after taking over McClure's book publishing division. Hubbard's narrative was reprinted in 1981 by Breakwater in St. John's, Newfoundland, from the McClure edition. For the purposes of this chapter, I am interested both in the narrative's evolution from field notes to published book and also in what the production of Hubbard's narrative as *A* Woman's *Way through Unknown Labrador* suggests about the cultural production of women as travellers in the discourse of exploration and adventure in the early twentieth century.

As I.S. MacLaren has noted in his article on "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," changes taking place between the recording of notes in the field and the publication of a travel narrative are caused by many factors, including the key one of audience. The field note is (in Hubbard's case) made in the context of a day's events in the wilderness, written for the primary audience of the future self; among its many functions are those of memory aid and emotional outlet. The published narrative, however, is re-shaped *as* narrative in the context of the trip's survival and completion, and the primary audience is a public one; changes are made not just at the author's whim, but also to answer to editors and marketing demands, public ignorance of the subject, readers' sensibilities, and generic conventions (MacLaren 41-42). The alterations made between Mina Hubbard's field notes and *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* thus serve the purposes of generic restructuring and market expectation, and are also inflected by her gender and the necessity of negotiating its public representation.[13] While many of these changes involve the inevitable reduction of repetition and of elements superfluous to the

narrative's/journey's progress, their net result is a pattern of representation in which the narrator's authority as an explorer and the leader of an expedition is heightened, while, at the same time, her femininity is uncompromised by her travel through the wilderness. The changes made to the text reduce the overall representation of Hubbard's crew and her interaction with them and with the wilderness; thus, the distance between her and "the Children of the Bush" is made evident (*WW* 141)[14] and her own femininity highlighted, but at the same time, the narrator appropriates the authority that their wilderness skills lend to the expedition as a whole. The published text's omissions and alterations thus reveal a careful textual negotiation of the discourses of exploration, femininity, and race.

One of the key elements in this negotiation is the way in which Leonidas Hubbard's continual presence in the field notes is reshaped into a framing mechanism in the published version. The book is structured around the wilderness trip: the passage from Halifax to Northwest River (16-22 June in the field notes) is drastically foreshortened, and the two-month wait at George River Post and return by ship to New York is reduced to thirteen lines at the end of the book. This is typical of much travel literature of the North, where the narrative's interest lies in the space of the wilderness adventure, and not in the mundane details of how one gets there or gets home. In this case, however, the atypical presence of the woman as explorer/hero requires a framing mechanism. Thus, the field notes' descriptions of gradual arrival and preparation are replaced by the published book's initial chapter, a hagiography of Leonidas Hubbard, Jr. Similarly, the let-down of the final, post-climactic arrival scene at George River Post is ascribed in the field notes to the end of the glorious adventure and the re-imposition of the social separation between Hubbard and her men, while in the book the final chapter, summing up her expedition's accomplishments, stresses Mina Hubbard's failure to measure up to her husband's generosity of spirit (234-35). The activities—writing, kayaking, and hiking—that occupy Mina Hubbard in her field notes for nearly two months, while she waits for the ship to arrive at Ungava, disappear in the truncated published version; the last section of the book contains Leonidas Hubbard's diary and the (largely retrospective) journal by Elson describing the 1903 expedition. *A Woman's Way* is thus framed by its significance within the life of Leonidas Hubbard, and Mina Hubbard's achievement diminished to "one of those lesser purposes by which he planned to build up a whole" (237); this is also true of Mina Hubbard's articles, which preface her expedition with the story of her husband's.[15]

In thus framing her published travels with Leonidas Hubbard's presence as inspiration and spiritual mentor, Mina Hubbard accomplishes her stated goal of fulfilling one of the "lesser purposes" of her husband's life, a goal that was no doubt a powerful aid in coping with her grief.[16] She also appropriates his protective sanction to her potentially transgressive enterprise. By framing her expedition as a tribute to her husband, Hubbard positions herself within the discourse of late Victorian widowhood. Her journey takes place under the auspices of her husband, and, as one reviewer commented, "she leaves us with the impression of a charming and plucky little woman, whose devotion to her husband and his dreams is pure and

true. All men approve of that kind of woman, and wish her and her book every success" (Millais 403).[17] Whatever readers might think of the idea of a woman explorer, it was difficult to disapprove of wifely devotion to a dead hero. Like a formulaic apologia, Hubbard's self-subordination before her husband's spirit forestalls inevitable criticism of her gender, her qualifications, and her abilities.

In shaping these opening and closing sections in terms of her husband's life, Mina Hubbard also removes from the body of the published narrative many of the field notes' constant references to him during the journey.[18] Most of the field notes' references to Leonidas Hubbard fall into two patterns: one group of references invokes a sense of sorrow and loss, and undercuts Hubbard's accomplishments by positioning them in terms of her husband's superiority; the other group of references brings a sense of fulfilment and validation to the narrative, and thus underwrites Mina Hubbard's achievements with the authority of her husband's approval.

The first pattern of references constantly positions Hubbard's wilderness experience in relation to her husband: for example, a child, who has died since she was last in Labrador, reminds her of her husband's own death (21 June). Her enjoyment of the trip is repeatedly qualified by her husband's superior love for the wilderness, and her various triumphs and achievements, from daily admiration of the grand landscapes she has 'discovered' to the final triumph of the trip's success, are contained by thoughts of "the one who so much more deserved it and who could have so much more appreciated the privilege" (16 July). Thus, eight days into her journey, she sums up the expedition's progress with considerable satisfaction and then remembers that "Two years ago this morning we said 'Goodbye'" (5 July). Two days later, at their first rainy camp, she notes, "Had a fine fire and I thought of Laddie's proverb 'On a wet day build a big fire'" (7 July). The field notes evoke the pain of Leonidas Hubbard's loss and the uncertainty of living up to his example whenever the woman traveller shows signs of becoming too comfortable in the wilderness or too happy with her accomplishments. The field notes thus avoid threatening the unique position of the 'real' explorer, her transcendent husband, with the woman explorer's own satisfaction. The disappearance of many of these references from the published narrative reduces the constant subordination of Hubbard's position to that of her husband.

The second pattern represented in the field notes' references to Leonidas Hubbard is one in which his textual presence is invoked in order to authorize Mina Hubbard's undertaking. Her crew's behaviour, abilities, and treatment of her are validated by her expression of the certainty of her husband's approval of them: for instance, Elson, who leads the men, is introduced as the one who "had loyally served Mr Hubbard . . . and who, with rare skill and rarer devotion, had recovered Mr Hubbard's body" (51); Gilbert Blake's part in the latter task is also noted (52). Their service to her becomes part of their loyal service to him. Thus on 10 July, she notes that "no one, except Laddie, was ever more thoughtful and kind to me than they have been." Any doubts about Mina Hubbard's reputation, after she has spent two months alone in the wilderness with her four guides, are allayed in the published narrative by the text's positioning of the guides' relationship to her husband and by the reiteration

of his tacit approval. Her very presence on the trip is in the service of his name (all of her publications, for instance, are run over the name of "Mrs. Leonidas Hubbard"). Although many of these references position Hubbard's achievements in terms of her husband's ambitions, they also validate her choice to undertake the exploration in the first place, and to push on in the face of uncertainty and their initially slow progress: her husband would approve. Thus as the expedition proceeds farther north, Mina Hubbard's position as explorer is validated by her sense of contentment (although tinged with regret), which is repeated in the book from corresponding field note entries: when they shoot their first caribou, she notes that she feels more at home in the wilderness than she has anywhere since her husband's death (113-14; 23 July); when they arrive at Lookout Mountain, from which they can see the western terminus of Leonidas Hubbard's journey, she thinks of him (133, 139; 29 July, 1 Aug.); and when they arrive at Indian House Lake and meet the Naskapi, which Leonidas Hubbard had hoped to do, she notes "what a day for Laddie" (200) and "what a privilege he would have thought it" (20 Aug.).

Thus the near-sanctification of Leonidas Hubbard's memory in the opening chapter of the book serves both to frame Mina Hubbard's travels in a socially acceptable context, and to remove many of these references to her husband from the narrative proper. The palpable pain and personal details of the field notes' laments for "Laddie" (21 June; 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 23, 26, 29 July; 10, 20, 23, 25 Aug.) become more formal allusions to "my husband" (95, 114) or "Mr. Hubbard" (136, 139, 200) in the book. At other points, her pain is simply omitted, as when, after the first mention of his love of fishing (137) the reiterated grief attached to that activity in the field notes (for example, on 12 Aug.) becomes, in the published text, merely the fact that they are travelling too fast to fish (179). Often, her overt grief is parlayed into pathetic fallacy, as when the published text laments the light's disappearance as a storm comes up: "It was very wild and beautiful, but as an exquisite, loved form from which the spirit has fled. The sense of life, of mystery, and magic seemed gone, and I wondered if the time could come when beauty would cease to give me pain" (95). Compared to the intimate grief expressed in the field notes, the book's references to Leonidas Hubbard are often curiously flat, almost formulaic, despite his implicit presence throughout. The public grief is a more reserved one, downplayed and contained in the service of a modest propriety.[19] By evoking Leonidas Hubbard's memory in this manner, the narrative hints at his widow's great loss but does not dramatize it. The focus of the travel narrative is not the distraught widow's grief, but the way that she channels her sorrow, in the public realm, in service to her husband's memory. However, in that service, the oblique performance of a public grief also authorizes the woman explorer.[20]

In the tradition of Lady Jane Franklin, then, the role of widow facilitates Mina Hubbard's involvement in a largely masculine arena;[21] the corollary to this, however, is that in using the discourse of widowhood to gain access to both the wilderness experience and to the institutional dissemination of her travels, she must not, within the narrative, overtly challenge the conventional femininity upon which that discourse rests. As Lawrence has recognized, "the female traveller's particular

baggage includes the historical link between female wandering and promiscuity" (16 n18); by laying claim to her husband's agenda, Mina Hubbard can control the reading of her travels, not as "unrestrained circulation" (Lawrence 16), but as legitimate exploration, a journey for a specific purpose, following and completing a route planned by her husband. Her careful negotiation of an appropriate femininity in the creation of a feminized explorer-hero(ine) is a pattern apparent throughout the shifts between the field notes and the narrative. In its service, many of the less formal episodes in the field notes are omitted from the published version. The omissions include much of the joking between her and the men, and the close relationship between her and Elson. Such elements are not entirely absent from the public version, but any hint of overly personal familiarity, which might suggest impropriety to some readers, disappears from the published narrative. References to physical contact are omitted, as when Elson drags her up a steep hill (2 Aug.), or holds her hand to steady her as they chase caribou across the hills (8 Aug.); and mention is omitted of the flowers Elson gives her on 19 July although the dandelion given to her by Gilbert Blake (referred to as a boy throughout) remains. The racial distance between her and all the men is strictly maintained and emphasized: the published narrative omits her attempts to learn Cree (14 July, 6 Aug.), many of the stories Elson tells her about his boyhood (19 and 20 July, 6 Aug.), and her suggestion that he write his own stories (20 July). As well, the men's references to train travel (1 and 18 July) and playing cards (18 July), and the encounter en route of bottles of tooth powder and sugar on native graves (8 Aug.) are omitted, while instead the published book emphasizes the instinctive skills of her crew as "Children of the Bush" (141) and the indigenous soul's essential link with natural beauty (159). Thus the published narrative contains in Mina Hubbard's proper widowhood any transgressive threat in her venturing into "unknown Labrador" with four indigenous men.

As Paul Fussell notes in *Abroad* (1980), in the discourse of travel real travellers (as opposed to mere tourists) have to work hard: "Etymologically a traveller is one who suffers *travail*" (39). This aspect is particularly true of exploration and wilderness travel, and even more true of travel in the North, a region which, by 1905, had been represented for centuries as a proving ground for British and European manhood. Even in the absence of scientific or territorial gains, an expedition which could produce a narrative of adventure was at least a commercial success. Leonidas Hubbard, recording in his diary his decision to turn back before reaching Michikamau, writes:

> If we turn back we must stop and get grub then cross our long portage, then hunt more grub, and finally freeze up preparatory to a sled dash for Northwest River. That will make us late for boat, but we can snowshoe to the St. Lawrence. All this, with what we have done so far, will make a bully story. (15 Sept. 1903)

Having failed to reach Lake Michikamau, the natives of the Labrador interior, or the migrating caribou, Leonidas Hubbard determines to make a story out of hardship, endurance, and their brush with starvation and death. In the end, it was Dillon Wallace who made the "bully story," a story that has gone through more than forty

printings, remains in print, and is taught in the schools of Newfoundland and Labrador.[22] In 1905, however, none of these elements is available to Mina Hubbard: not only must she successfully complete her journey in order to vindicate her husband from criticism,[23] but she must also protect herself from charges of irresponsibility, which could conceivably be brought against a woman venturing into an arena about which she knew nothing.[24] Ragged endurance of wintry starvation would in a woman signify not valiant endurance but foolhardiness and a loss of decorum.

Mina Hubbard not only lacks wilderness skills herself, but must be *seen* to lack them, in order to remain appropriately 'civilized' in the face of wilderness. Her role as widow only provisionally contains the threat to conventional femininity posed by leaving the domestic space for the unknown in the company of four non-white, lower-class men to whom she is not related.[25] For, unlike Elizabeth Taylor and the other women on the Mackenzie River, Mina Hubbard travelled beyond the established infrastructure of modern transportation systems and beyond the immediate reach of direct institutional surveillance.[26] Once she left Northwest River Post, she was alone with her four guides. She could not appear to be changed by her encounter with the wilderness.

In order to maintain the party's qualifications for the journey and the dramatic tension of the narrative, the wilderness expertise of Hubbard's crew is emphasized. She must have a skilled crew if the terrain is to be believably rigorous and the exploration accordingly difficult and thus valuable. Jokes she plays on Elson and mistakes he makes in the route to Michikamau are omitted from the published version; the challenge they pose to his expertise would reflect poorly on her expedition. Since her access to the wilderness is not due to her own qualifications (she is a temporary stand-in for her husband), the published narrative omits several of her field notes' statements of personal triumph in that regard. In part, this omission results from the foreshortening of the narrative's beginning and end, since it is at Northwest River Post before they leave that she describes in her field notes surprising Elson with her paddling skills (27 June), and it is at George River Post after their journey that she experiments with kayaking alone (30 Sept.), tries out a dog whip (18 Sept.), and spends an evening alone on the hills (11 Oct.). However, even on the journey itself, the published narrative walks a careful line. By emphasizing her fragility and delicacy (her hot water bottle and air mattress appear in most published versions of the trip[27]), as well as by continually reiterating the care and consideration with which her crewmen conduct her through the wilderness, and the personal and racial distance between her and them, the narrative is able to negotiate a careful representation that is neither incompetent nor overly robust, neither improper nor unfeminine.

The narrative does in part mobilize the traditional theme of the tenderfoot's gradual adaptation to wilderness life. Her attempt to cook over a fire (71), her "maiden attempt to follow a trail" alone (73), and the fish she cleans herself (144) do survive in the published version, as does a considerable amount of teasing by the men during the first half of the narrative; these elements help to stress the distance

between her inexperience and the vastly superior wilderness adaptation of the crew. However, the traditional comic elements of the tenderfoot theme for the most part do not appear in the published narrative, nor do the jokes the men play on her (24, 27 July). Episodes omitted include incidents of forgetfulness and irresponsibility which, while amusing in the field notes, in the published text would undermine Hubbard's tenuous authority as leader of the expedition and reliable narrator. The book records her admiration of the men's hard work and wilderness skills, but not her constantly reiterated regret that she cannot help. Leaving behind a pocket knife (27 July), leaving the portage trail alone and getting lost (12 July), and scaring Elson by going off scouting alone without telling him (13 July) do not appear in the published narrative; she might be inexperienced and physically weaker than the men, as befits the discourse of turn-of-the-century womanhood, but never incompetent or irresponsible. Events that might challenge the delicacy expected of a lady are also omitted: she does not publish the fact that she ate caribou gut "and found it very very good" (12 Aug.), and details in the field notes about killing and butchering caribou and other game are omitted, although the published version does include her happily blazing away at a bear which is too far away to hit. Girlish enthusiasm in the chase is acceptable, but tender-hearted femininity avoids explicit bloodshed.

The only escapade that remains in the published version is that detailed in Chapter 8, entitled "Scaring the Guides." Having obtained Elson's permission to spend an afternoon alone on a hilltop (which they have already climbed) while the men carry the gear forward, Hubbard decides not to follow their advice to take a rain jacket. When it starts to rain, she realizes that the men have not come to meet her, but are remaining warm and dry by the fire under the canoes: "I was to have a lesson in taking good advice when I could get it" (125). She uses the opportunity to go farther afield, and when the men realize that she isn't waiting in the miserable wet for them to come and meet her, they panic for fear she is lost. By the time they finally find her (the page's running heading is "Recaptured" [129]), she has given the men a good scare, and has also learned the depth of their responsibility for bringing her safely out of the wilderness: "'And what would we do if you got lost or fell in that rapid?'" Elson demands. "'Just think what *could* we do? Why, I could never go back again. How could any of us go back without you?'" (131).

This episode, taking up one day's entry in the field notes, is expanded to take a chapter of the published narrative; dialogue not existing in the notes is invented to dramatize the men's dismay, and the episode is figured as a mischievous child's prank. It becomes the joke she plays on the men, for unlike the case in some of the omitted episodes, this incident does not really involve her being lost or in danger. Rather, she knows both where she is and where the men are at all times; she is in control. Even in the field notes, at the end of the episode the men must be fortified with medicinal brandy, for they "looked really sick and their hands trembled visibly. I needed no bracer, for I was very very hungry and I had had 'one good time'" (28 July). Four days later, in the field notes, she discovers that the men have drunk all the brandy:

> When Geo. brought out the flask to-night, he has been having my medicine bag in his dunnage bag, and we were to have brandy sauce for our rice pudding there was just a few oz perhaps 3 oz in it. Said "Guess we won't have any for our pudding. Keep that for medicine." A few things are making me uncomfortable though perhaps my unrest is needless. (1 Aug.)

In the book, the discovery and recovery is immediate, as she ends the chapter at the day of the episode, "Again the joke was on me. They drank it all!" (132). It is a joke—on her, she states, but one which contains and limits, with its humorous deprecation, any suggestion that she is not in complete control of her chivalrous but subordinate crew: in two lines, the sexual anxieties embedded in the mixture of alcohol, gender and race are disposed of as if non-existent. For nothing, in this chapter, must threaten the construction of Hubbard's leadership.

This escapade becomes the climax of the subtext of Hubbard's rebellion against her men's care for her, and against the limitations that her femininity places on her in the wilderness, but the rebellion is always qualified, in the book, by her repeated reiteration of the men's care and sense of responsibility, and by her own good-humoured toleration of their restrictions: "George's tone of authority was sometimes amusing. Sometimes I did as I was told, and then again I did not. This time I did. . ." (88). The times when she does not, never make it into the published narrative. Indeed, at this point in the book she offers Elson a bargain: "'If I can have some one to go with me whenever I want to climb a mountain, or do anything else that I think it is necessary to do in my work, without any fuss about it, I promise not to go away alone again'" (130). Having resolved the question of who is in control of the expedition, the narrative ceases to stress the limitations placed on her by her gender: she longs impatiently to go scouting for the headwaters of the George River, when they achieve the height of land, but the men discover nothing on that afternoon anyway (171-72); the description of Elson's reluctance to take her to the Montagnais camp in the field notes (17 Aug.) disappears from the published narrative, and when they encounter the Naskapi she walks away from the canoes up to their camp despite Elson's evident unease (208). The men's care for her and their skills are constantly reiterated, but direct confrontations over her freedom of movement, and her own comments on the limitations femininity places on her, give way, from this point on in the published narrative, to Hubbard's concerns as leader.

Thus, while the book never relinquishes its careful construction of Hubbard's femininity, she must as leader of the expedition and explorer/narrator have some form of textual authority from which to speak her travels. The narrative struggles to maintain a hierarchical relation between her, as white leader, and the men, as her aboriginal crew, since the book's emphasis on their wilderness skills and the fact that they do all the hard work, as well as the text's omission of the field notes' repetition of Hubbard's day-to-day tasks of mapmaking, latitudinal and geographical observations, and meteorological measurements, would otherwise completely displace her from the head of the expedition. Rhetorical shifts between the field notes and the narrative serve both to include her in the work being done and to emphasize that even

when she is not physically doing the work, it is being done at her behest. These shifts are particularly evident at the main geographical features of the journey. One particularly important site/sight is reached when, having followed the Nascaupi River to Lake Michikamau's northern inlet, the party crosses the height of land between the Nascaupi and George River systems, and finds the beginning of the river that will lead them to Ungava Bay. Comparison of this passage in the field notes and the published narrative reveals the complex work of re-shaping involved when the woman traveller must become the generic explorer-hero of the narrative.

First, in the field notes, Hubbard describes with her usual enthusiastic admiration the men's work to find the headwaters of the George River. Written in the context of the wilderness, Hubbard's field notes are characterized by her wonder at the men's wilderness skills and by her delight at having achieved with them one of her husband's goals:[28]

> It was bewildering to me. Points and islands cut off the views of the lake and it was like being on a river you were so anxious to see round the next pt for something new was always developing. It was wonderful the way Job picked out the way. Only once since we started has he failed at going right straight to the right point and that was to-day when we were in this second of the two beautiful lakes. We came through before reaching the height of land, and this time we did not go out of our way more than 3/4 of a mile. We had come to the northern part of the lake when round a pt a deep bay stretched away to the eastward. Down the bay about 3/4 of a m it looked as if a little stream flowed in from the N. We paddled to it but but [sic] found it not a stream. Turning back we came along the N. shore and 2 m further west a little stream flowed in from still another lake above. It was too small to admit of attempting to take the canoe up and by this time Joe & Gil had found the portage trail just a little west of the stream. There were the remains of a fire there, some goose bones stuck up on a long pole, feathers lying about and from the quills the men thought that whoever had passed would not have been more than 2 weeks ahead of us. The boughs were still green. The por. was a short one 100 yds and led to a little lake 1 m long and 200-250 yds wide and here we found ourselves at last at the very head of the Nascaupee. North from the lake lay a marsh 200 yards wide and this was the height of land. There was no mistaking it. Though I found myself this morning with only 2 rolls each for my kodaks I squandered 2 exposures on the height of land. On the other side we knew or believed we should find ourselves on waters that flowed to Ungava Bay. We were not disappointed. At 5 P.M. we embarked on a beautiful lake beyond it and at 6 we were at the head of a stream flowing N. The men were as much excited as I. When our little canoe touched shore just at the head of the stream, Job jumped out and ran down a piece to make really sure which direction the water was flowing and came back shouting "Ha ha

> Jordan seepee". It was such a beautiful evening too and all hearts glad that we had come so far in safety. We are now north of 55 [degrees latitude] and yet it has never seemed to me, and the men say the same, as if we were far from the world. Just far enough to be nice. I wish I need never go back. I suppose I shall never again be taken care of in the gentle *careful* way I have been since we left N.W.R. I came away expecting to have all sorts of hardships to endure and have had none. The weather has mostly been very beautiful. Labrador skies have so far been kind to us. Oh if they had only been as kind two years ago. How different might have been the outcome. Over and over again we speak of it and say that this surely *cannot be Labrador* for the skies are so bright and sunshiny. Geo. marvels at it every day almost. This is the third beautiful day now. The sunset was beautiful again to-night though not quite so beautiful as last night. There are few flies and mosquitoes. We were speaking to-day about how really little we have been troubled by them on the whole. Geo. says he thinks too that the wet summer when he was with Mr. Hubbard made them a lot worse. Then too they seem to be fewer in this north country than in the Nascaupee country. To-night it is warm and they have bothered us nothing to speak of. We had our rice pudding and I put on my Sunday waist and took a clean handkerchief and put on my red tuque Laddie got me in Quebec. The men were greatly pleased. It has been a wonderfully interesting day for me. It has interested me in a way I did not suppose I should ever be interested again and in my heart to-night is a touch of gladness that our work has prospered so far. It has not been perfectly done. I have felt my lack of training and preparation very deeply and keenly and not until we reached Michikamats could I feel that my observations for latitude were correct. Yet even so we have opened the way and have led in it and I can bring a tribute to the memory of my husband which he at least would think worth while. If I could only hear the dear human voice speak his "Well done" and see his face; for whatever others may say that is what he would say. Camp in a bog to-night. Soon after camp up heard deer calling just a little way from camp. Saw many this morn around N. end of Michikamats. Not so many since. Men shot at crow this morn, first & only one seen on trip. An old stage not far from camp. Can see fresh cuttings & blaze on east side of stream, about 300 yds, on farther side other channel. Men think portage trail there. (10 Aug.; italics in original)

As the search for the height of land begins, Hubbard takes the role of bewildered observer, eagerly watching the experts at work. Once they make the discovery, it gains its meaning in the context of the whole party's communal enterprise and the duty Hubbard owes to her husband's memory. The location is significant because of its relationship to the rest of the journey: they now know that they are on the right route, and, moreover, will be headed downstream from here on. The delight at

having arrived at the height of land manifests itself in terms of fine weather and freedom from insects, but also expresses the whole team's relief at leaving behind the achingly slow, back-breaking work of upstream travel and the uncertainties about their route and whether they will be able to do the whole trip before winter.

In the published version, however, the event is one of Discovery: it is given significance by Hubbard's presence as the representative of the white race, and fixed in time at her disembarkation rather than being attenuated, as in the field notes, between the 5 p.m. embarkation on the lake and the 6 p.m. discovery (by her native crewman, announced in Cree)[29] of its north-flowing outlet. The men's work is recuperated into a collective "we," and the explorer-hero is no longer eager observer and participant, but Leader and Visionary, for whose sight the site renders up its significance:

> That afternoon our journey carried us north-west through beautiful Lake Adelaide, where long wooded points and islands cutting off the view ahead, kept me in a constant state of suspense as to what was to come next. About 4 p.m. we reached the northern extremity of the lake, where the way seemed closed; but a little searching discovered a tiny stream coming in from the north and west of this the well-marked Indian trail. What a glad and reassuring discovery it was, for it meant that we were on the Indian highway from Lake Michikamau to George River. Perhaps our task would not be so difficult after all.
>
> The portage led north one hundred yards to a little lake one mile long and less than one quarter wide, and here we found ourselves at the very head of the Nascaupee River. There was no inlet to the lake, and north of it lay a bog two hundred yards wide which I knew must be the Height of Land, for beyond it stretched a body of water which had none of the appearance of a still water lake, and I felt sure we should find its waters flowing north.
>
> It was just 5 p.m. when, three hundred miles of my journey into the great, silent wilderness passed, I stepped out of the canoe to stand at last on the summit of the Divide—the first of the white race to trace the Nascaupee River to its source.
>
> I had a strange feeling of being at the summit of the world. The country was flat and very sparsely wooded, but I could not see far. It seemed to fall away on every hand, but especially to north and south. The line of the horizon was unnaturally near, and there was more than the usual realising sense of the great space between the earth and the sky. This was enhanced by the lifting of a far distant hill-top above the line as if in an attempt to look across the Divide.
>
> That morning I had found myself with only a few films left, for the fascination of taking the first photographs of the region traversed had betrayed me into using my material more lavishly than I should; but now I squandered two films in celebration of the achievement,

> taking one picture looking out over the waters flowing south to Lake Melville and the Atlantic, and facing about, but without otherwise changing my position, one over the waters which I felt sure we should find flowing north to Ungava Bay.
>
> In a wonderfully short time the outfit had been portaged across, and we were again in the canoes, the quest now being, not for the inlet but for the outlet of the lake, a much less difficult task. Less than an hour's paddling carried us to the point where the George River, as a tiny stream, steals away from its source in Lake Hubbard, as if trying to hide in its rocky bed among the willows, to grow in force and volume in its three hundred mile journey to Ungava, till at its discharge there it is a great river three miles in width.
>
> Here at its beginning on the boggy margin of the stream we went into camp. Here I saw the sun set and rise again, and as I lay in my tent at dawn, with its wall lifted so that I could look out into the changing red and gold of the eastern sky, I heard a splashing of water near, and looking up saw a little company of caribou cross at the head of the stream and disappear towards the sunrise. (174-76)

Comparison of these two passages reveals many of the shifting rhetorical strategies used in the published version to reinforce the narrator's authority as an explorer: no longer faced with the "bewildering" and unnamed landscape of the diary, the narrator is merely in "a constant state of suspense" which is constantly reassured as much by the "well-marked Indian trail" as by the landscape which, it seems, has always already borne the names she gives it. The field notes' revelation that the portage has been recently used disappears in the book, for the trail is no longer scouted by the men, but "discovered," reassuring explorer and reader. The men's work is erased from the published version by the use of plural pronouns and the passive mode: "we," rather than Joe Iserhoff and Gilbert Blake, find the portage; "our journey carried us" and "an hour's paddling carried us," rather than Mina Hubbard being carried by the men's work. The experience of the height of land is no longer a communal one, attenuated between 5 and 6 o'clock and verified by Job Chapies, but frozen by the racial significance of *her* 5 p.m. disembarkation; she is "the first of the white race" to arrive "at the summit of the world." The place is recognized by her statement, "I knew," as the significant site: on the flat, swampy Labrador plateau, the height-of-land nonetheless allows the world to fall away around her. The field notes' communal celebration of their arrival, with its domestic note in her preparation of rice pudding and the "Sunday waist" worn for the men's pleasure, is reduced to the lonely triumph of the single, solitary "I" communing with the wilderness. Not only is the possible threat to propriety from the crew's pleasure at her dressing up omitted from the narrative, but so is the reference to her husband. The effects of the transformation are both to elide leader and crew—to appropriate to her their labour, skills, and presence in the wilderness, particularly important for an explorer who lacks wilderness expertise—and also to emphasize her own unique and separate subjectivity, as the one who, embodying in her race the significance of the

accomplishment, gives meaning to sunset and dawn, splashing water and disappearing caribou, and names to the "unknown" land.

Pratt has analyzed what she terms the "monarch-of-all-I-survey" trope as it was enacted in Victorian exploration literature in Africa (201, 205-06). Although she suggests that women explorers "do not spend a lot of time on promontories," and that "the masculine heroic discourse of discovery is not readily available to women" (213), Pratt does acknowledge that women constructed their own discourses of mastery over the terrain they travelled, often self-consciously playing with and transforming the patterns more common to male writers. However, in contrast to the sophisticated and self-ironic "monarchic female voice" that Pratt finds in Mary Kingsley's writing (213-16), Mina Hubbard's mobilization, at this point in her narrative, of the heroic discourse of discovery is fairly straightforward.

Having established herself as Discoverer, Hubbard opens the next chapter by describing the burdens of leadership, her responsibility for her crew, and her hopes for the future of the expedition. In the published narrative, this responsibility is rarely shared with her "chief guide." Like her unease over the brandy's disappearance (28 July) and her concern over whether Wallace's party is ahead or behind them (21 July, 6 Aug.), neither her disputes with Elson over the projected return route should the expedition be forced to retreat (6, 17 Aug.), nor her worries about whether the men are slacking off or not (6, 11, 25, 26 July, 4 Aug.), remain in the published text. In the context of the book, any value these episodes might offer in providing dramatic tension is offset by their immediate context (she wishes to return by way of the Nascaupi River in order to verify latitudinal observations she has missed; mention of this would throw the scientific value of the narrative into doubt) as well as by the challenge they offer her authority as expedition leader. As she admits to Elson in the field notes, "Now if you refuse to take me back I cannot compell you to do it [sic]" (17 Aug.).

The field notes are thus pervaded by an emotional tension and uncertainty rooted in Hubbard's sense of tenuous control over the expedition; in the published narrative, however, this uncertainty is channelled entirely into the dramatic tension of the leader's responsibility for finding the right route and reaching Ungava Bay before the last week in August, in time to catch the only ship leaving northern Labrador before winter. Once they have passed the height of land, time is growing short, and the difference over choice of route which separates Hubbard and her crew in the field notes becomes, in the book, a distinction of responsibility:

> Could we make the post by the last week in August? The men appeared confident; but for me the days which followed held anxious hours, and the nights sleepless ones as I tried to make my decision whether, in case it should become evident we could not reach Ungava in time, I should turn back, leaving the work uncompleted, or push on, accepting the consequent long winter journey back across Labrador, or round the coast, and the responsibility of providing for my four guides for perhaps a full year. At least the sun shone on the beginning of the journey, and about nine o'clock, the last pack having gone forward, I

> set off down the portage below Lake Hubbard, a prayer in my heart that the journey might be swift.
>
> The prayer seemed doomed to remain unanswered at first. . . . (178)

The published text admits no question of her final authority as leader; it also emphasizes her separation from the crew and ultimate responsibility for the expedition. Rather than struggling as she does in the field notes for the power to make the decisions, Hubbard suffers valiantly, in the book, under the ultimate burden of leadership, while her stereotypically happy-go-lucky native crew cheerfully perform their duty.

Mina Hubbard's authority, in her published narrative, thus rests in a careful representation of delicate femininity and ultimate responsibility for the mission's success or failure, and this latter element surfaces more and more once the expedition crosses the height of land. Even her men's fears about encountering the Naskapi of northern Labrador are answered by the valiant mission leader:

> "What do you think I shall be doing while they are killing you? You do not need to suppose that because I will not kill rabbits, or ptarmigan, or caribou, I should have any objection to killing a Nascaupee Indian if it were necessary." (183)

This threat is never put into practice and, in fact, appears only in the published narrative; by the time it is written, the first Hubbard expedition has been welcomed by both Montagnais and Naskapi communities,[30] and has successfully reached the George River Post with surplus provisions (150 lbs, if the supplies left with the Naskapi two days before reaching the post are included in the reckoning) and two months to spare before the ship arrives. But the threat serves notice that the protected has become protector, and that Hubbard has, somewhere between the Northwest River Post and John Murray's publishing house, become an explorer-hero.

Reception and Reproduction; or, Whose Story Is This?

A cumulative analysis of the alterations made to Mina Hubbard's narrative between the field notes and the published narrative reveals the book's tendency to represent the woman explorer in terms of a careful balance of authority and femininity, both maintained by positioning the narrator in relation to her husband and her guides. This textual strategy results in a narrative persona who is alternately characterized by the qualities of widow, lady, and explorer. The making of Hubbard's published narrative was thus a careful negotiation of her public representation at an intersection of the discourses of race, femininity, and exploration. The reception of her narrative in reviews also tends to be characterized by a concern to position her accomplishments, *as* those of a woman, in terms of exploration and wilderness writing. As Sara Mills states, "the way that [women's] travel texts are received has a crucial effect on the way they are read, what they mean and also, ultimately, on the way they are written" (108). I do not wish to establish a simple

causal relationship between reviewers' attitudes and the choices which were made in the production of the book, nor do I wish to suggest that reviewers simply followed Mina Hubbard's desires in reading her text as she presented it, as the fulfilment of her husband's life. Rather, by analysing the reception and reproduction of Hubbard's travels in reviews and subsequent retellings, I wish to outline more general tendencies in the ways our culture positions women in the context of exploration.

First, however, one further influence on Mina Hubbard's construction of a narrative persona must be acknowledged. In 1902, she accompanied her husband on a three-week fishing trip north of Lake Superior, and she appears as "Madam" in his article, "Off Days on Superior's North Shore." Leonidas Hubbard describes his party:

> In the stern of the canoe sat John, an Ojibway canoeman and voyageur who had been north as far as Churchill, one of the best natured and willing Indians I have ever met, equally willing to work or shirk, whichever happened to be along the line of least resistance. In the center, on a tent and tarpaulin, sat Madam, while I knelt in the bow. . . . Madam and I had canoed before and were rather well acquainted; but John we had not seen till that morning. How John would behave in bad weather was the first problem that arose. (716)

When the rain begins, John's paddling becomes sluggish and he implies that it is time to stop. "So," Hubbard writes, "I merely said I wanted to get wet. I had been in the city for a long time where there was no chance, and if the rain kept on I really wouldn't want to camp at all." His tactic, he reports, is corroborated by "the passenger amidship," who adds, "'And it's such nice soft water too'" (718). John is defeated, and he takes up his paddle. The beginning of the trip is thus structured as a power struggle between sportsman and guide; "Madam" serves an auxiliary role as the sportsman's ally, although there is almost no mention of her fishing, and she remains nameless, as all women are in Leonidas Hubbard's articles.

The second half of the article covers time spent in search of brook trout with the advice of an experienced guide, who tells them,

> ". . . there are a lot of little spring lakes all through this country. . . . There's one back of here about ten miles, where they always bite, but it's pretty hard getting there. Madam cannot go, of course. No white woman has ever seen this lake."
>
> This latter remark was a spark in powder. It fired every bit of Madam's latent explorer spirit. If no white woman had been there, she was going. (721)

Leonidas Hubbard offers no further commentary on "Madam's" exploration, and he himself never pictured a "latent explorer spirit" leading Mina Hubbard onto the Labrador plateau. In his diary, travel associated with his wife appears in direct contrast to his experience in Labrador:

> Have thought a good deal about home. It seems to me I'll never be willing to leave it again. I don't believe I'll want any more trips too

> hard for M. to share. Her companionship and our home life are better than a great trip. (18 Sept. 1903)

Nonetheless, Madam's willingness to brave discomfort, to ally herself cheerfully with the sportsman-hero's desires, and to push through conventional restrictions, provides one textual model for Mina Hubbard's undertaking of *A Woman's Way*. Although Leonidas Hubbard did not invent this character type for the woman-in-the-wilderness (Mary Agnes FitzGibbon's narrator, for instance, shares some of the same characteristics), the opportunity for direct influence here must be acknowledged.

The appeal of this character type becomes evident in the reception of Mina Hubbard's narrative by reviewers. The two qualities most remarked upon in reviews are the explorer's devotion to her husband and her own cheerful temperament. Thus J.G. Millais praises her patronizingly as "a charming and plucky little woman" (403), and the *Englishwoman's Review* commends her "power of cheerful endurance" (212) and "natural gaiety of temperament, which must have helped both herself and the faithful escort of whom she speaks with gratitude and indeed with affection" (214). Comments such as these both respond to Hubbard's self-characterization in the narrative, and also position her role in the narrative as an auxiliary one, which supplements the work of the guides and her husband's ambition.

Reviews of *A Woman's Way* by geographical and scientific publications position the narrative as one which offers useful knowledge qualified by the writer's lack of scientific training and her limited opportunities for prolonged observation, as well as by the apparent ease of her journey. Millais' review in *Nature* alternates between noting that she was "a mere passenger on the trip" and approving of her as "a woman of no small courage . . . for it takes nerve of the 3-o'clock-in-the-morning variety, as the writer can testify, to shoot boiling rapids in a light 19-feet canoe" (401). He praises Hubbard's passing ethnographic and biological observations, but quellingly judges that "the humour of the writer is not of a high order." He concludes:

> . . . what we want to know of Labrador is not the common incidents of travel, experiences such as every schoolboy puts in his first book, but first-hand observations of its botany, mineralogy, zoology, and ways of the wild races. . . . Mrs. Hubbard does not give us a very satisfactory or scientific study of Labrador. (402)

A review in *The Geographical Journal* (RGS) notes that the book makes for "very interesting reading" but has "no great scientific value," although the "excellent photographs" and descriptions give a clear idea of the scenery, and Hubbard's "running survey" of the route offers not only a corrected map of the region, but also provides "certain notes on the geology, flora, and fauna" (614). On 6 January 1908, Hubbard gave a talk, entitled "Journeys through Lonely Labrador," before the RGS ("Meetings" 228; "Lady's Travels" 10), so her work apparently did have some scientific value. The American Geographical Society (AGS) thought so when it published an article by Mina Hubbard in 1906, and used her observations to produce a map of Labrador published in both the *Bulletin* and Hubbard's narrative. Their review of *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* concludes that "[h]er work

was not scientific, but was an excellent piece of pioneer research which has been recognized as worthy by the geographical authorities of America and Europe" (56).[31] Nonetheless, Hubbard's successes are often attributed to luck rather than ability: for example, meeting the caribou migration (which was, admittedly, a notoriously unpredictable event) is "a turn of fortune" ("Through Unknown Labrador" 165) which she has "the privilege" to experience (*Athenaeum* 758).

Following the lead of the geographical societies, other reviews acknowledge the geographical merits of Hubbard's travels, but phrase the value of her text in terms appropriate to the writer's femininity. For example, the *Times Literary Supplement* notes:

> . . . her unpretentious method carries conviction with it; and to have brought back the first account of the sources of two rivers speaks for itself of the place which will be hers in the geographical history of Labrador. Whether her astonishing success where Mr. Hubbard encountered disaster was wholly due, as she would have us believe, to better luck we shall take leave to doubt. The explorer whose margin over all contingencies enabled her to part with a quarter of her whole original stock of flour to a band of starving Indians can hardly expect us to acquit her of a reasonable amount of good management. ("Through Unknown Labrador" 165)

She is "unpretentious," her success is "astonishing," and likely rooted in "good management," a highly appropriate domestic accomplishment. The *Athenaeum* similarly commended her "courage and endurance, as well as her generalship" (758), but noted that "Mr. Wallace's journey held more of excitement—perhaps illegitimate. His rash, adventurous spirit invited him to dangers which read thrillingly" (758). The relative ease of Hubbard's journey—she does not report starvation or extreme physical hardship, the narrative contains no thrilling face-to-face-with-death scenes, and she even describes hunting episodes with a touch of squeamishness—encouraged reviews to underplay the physical challenge of the journey. In the *Spectator* review, she "glides up . . . uncharted lakes" and "approaches" an indigenous community (473). Some reviews insisted, with an undertone of approval, that the writer's courage and determination had to be intuited from her "simple narrative" (*Geographical Journal* 614; *"Through Unknown Labrador* 165).

Many of these reviewers, like the *Athenaeum* writer, were of course reading *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* in the context of Dillon Wallace's earlier publications. The rivalry between the two is elided in Mina Hubbard's published narrative, but, like her disputes with Elson, this rivalry hovers behind the text, providing a ghostly tension which the narrative channels into its own linear drama of the struggle against time and the "unknown" landscape. Wallace reached George River Post some two months after Mina Hubbard, although he did so without the customary native crew, having dismissed his Ojibwa guide and two of his men at Michikamau. His narrative, *The Long Labrador Trail* (1906), is one of hair's-breadth escapes and physical exploits, building on the hardships and adventure of his earlier narrative of the 1903 expedition. His Labrador is indeed one of heroism, adversity

and starvation, a testing-ground for young men, and it would prove to be so over and over again in the best-selling boys' adventure novels he wrote over the next two decades. Like Leonidas Hubbard's articles, it remains one of the intertexts of Mina Hubbard's narrative. As the reviews indicate, her narrative was read in the context of his publications (*Athenaeum* 758; *Spectator* 743; Havens 286; *A.L.A. Booklist* 270).

The drama and high stakes that constitute wilderness adventure in both of Wallace's narratives are provided in Mina Hubbard's book by Leonidas Hubbard's appended diary account of his fatal 1903 expedition, and by Elson's retrospective journal, which picks up the story after Hubbard's death. And almost every review of *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* fastens on Mina Hubbard's service to her husband, rather than confrontation with the wilderness, as the emotional drama of the story. The *Spectator* notes approvingly that "[h]er own personal triumph is not that she has inscribed her name on the roll of illustrious explorers, but that she has justified her husband's venture" ("Woman Explorer" 473). The *Englishwoman's Review* states that "the spring of her actions was not the spirit of enterprise, but the spirit of love" (213), and informs readers that the diary of Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., appended to Mina Hubbard's account, is "even more touching than the narrative of the wife" (214); more than half the review is devoted to a retelling of Leonidas Hubbard's death. The *Literary Digest* ascribes the narrative's interest to the fact that "it chronicles the faith and constancy of a wife who found the 'Vision' which her husband had set before him on his lonely journey" (673). Although these reviewers follow Mina Hubbard's lead in positioning her accomplishments in relation to her husband's desires, they also recognize that the emotional stakes in her narrative, the elements that made it a desirable *story*, lay in the context of tragedy, struggle against adversity, and fulfilment.

The only contemporary book review that saw Hubbard's expedition as a specifically Canadian accomplishment was Jean Graham's, which appeared in 1908 on the women's page in the *Canadian Magazine*. Under the title "A Woman Explorer," Graham's reminds her readers of women's participation in British imperial expansion:

> Many of those pioneer dames enjoyed the struggle with primitive forces and exulted when the rude homestead was built. Is it unreasonable to believe that the great-granddaughters of men who sailed the Seven Seas, taking possession of an island here and there in the name of the British Sovereign, and leaving a bit of red, white and blue fluttering in bright crosses from a staff, should have something of the wandering instinct of their ancestors? (468)

In Graham's reading, Mina Hubbard's narrative is important specifically because of its author's gender, and because she represents one example of a dimension of women's activity that, Graham states, has been ignored. After repeating the story of Leonidas Hubbard's death, Graham asserts that "the wife of Leonidas Hubbard has a spirit akin to his own, and . . . the canoe trip over stretches of unexplored lake and river appealed to her love of the remote and primeval" (470). Like Hubbard's article in *The Englishwoman's Review*, "A Woman Explorer" emphasizes the beauty of the landscape as much as its physical challenges (Graham 470; "Through Lonely

Labrador" 84-86); both also admit the gender transgression at work in Hubbard's expedition. As her opening references to "pioneer dames" suggests, Graham seems unable to find any other context than settlement in which to situate Hubbard's exploits. She praises Hubbard's "buoyant delight in the unspoiled wilderness, and appreciation of Nature's stern aspects which shows the spirit of the born pioneer" (470), recuperating the mobility of the woman explorer back into the fixed context of settlement.

However, she also provides the first reading of Hubbard's text as a model for women's wilderness activity[32] and for women's reading. Jean Graham appeals for a readership on the basis of nationalism: Canadian women, she laments, are overly fond of foreign romances, and are only beginning to value their own stories: "Canadians are remarkably slow to honor worthy achievement by their own sons or daughters, but . . . the Canadian public may some day honor a woman whose claim to recognition rests upon pluck and brains" (471). Graham's reception of Mina Hubbard's story can be read in terms of early twentieth-century Canadian feminism's attempts to write women into the national story, part of the same project that Cameron and Ellis engage in by telling the stories of the women they meet on their travels along the Mackenzie River and by situating northern and national development in a future progress that will include recognition of women. Graham's challenge to Canadian readers, however, was not taken up until well after the Centennial: Pierre Berton included Mina Hubbard's story in *Wild Frontier: More Tales from the Remarkable Past* (1978), one of his popular collections of Canadian historical biographies; three years later, the 1981 republication of *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* by Breakwater Press made the narrative widely available to Canadian readers once more.

Exploration is a material, *textual* practice. Mina Hubbard, because she sat in the middle of the canoe and worked on her map, because she took pictures and kept a journal, because she documented the land, was able to lay claim to the kind of geographical and capital Wallace could not.[33] It was not just that Mina Hubbard's expedition arrived at the George River Post six weeks before Wallace and Easton's. Cabot's introduction admits that in 1838 John McLean, an HBC factor, had travelled the high plateau from Fort Chimo, on the northern shore, to Hamilton Inlet, probably following roughly the same route as Hubbard; Père Lacasse had accompanied native peoples on similar journeys more recently (16). The idea was not, then, merely to be "first." Lasting reputation lay in the quality of documentation and textual production. Thus, R.G. Mauro observes:

> Despite Wallace's achievements, there could be no concealing his disappointment at having the honour of being first to map the river that he and Hubbard had planned to explore, snatched from him by Hubbard's wife. Furthermore, her excellent photographs of the Indians of Ungava far surpassed anything he had been able to salvage after the upset on the George. Her map was prepared by cartographers of the American Geographical Society and made the drawings of Wallace's

> young geologist, published in Wallace's book, appear primitive by comparison. (56)

However, although Mina Hubbard was able to enlist the aid of both the AGS and the RGS in her project to associate forever her husband's name with northeastern Labrador, Wallace won the long-term popularity battle. Mina Hubbard's narrative, shaped by the exigencies of gender and by her need to validate her husband's life, was soon out of print. Dillon Wallace's narratives of Labrador exploration, fueled by a market created by his boys' adventure novels, were read throughout the first half of the twentieth century and remain in print to this day.

The Hubbard saga resonates through subsequent wilderness writing about Labrador. However, the lasting survival of these narratives lay in 'story,' in their ability to retain the interest of generations of readers. In the context of wilderness writing in the early twentieth century, the emotional appeal of wilderness literature lay in part in the homosocial bonding of men drawn together in confrontation with the wilderness; this is the drama that Alan F. Williams has identified in Dillon Wallace's account of the first Hubbard expedition (78, 82). For contemporary readers, Mina Hubbard's careful negotiation of the discourses of exploration, race and gender, and her presentation of a journey which, as the *Times Literary Supplement* describes it, "was made without grave difficulty" ("Through Unknown Labrador" 165), produced a narrative which had less emotional appeal than the thrilling adventures written by Dillon Wallace.[34] Thus although later Labrador explorers admitted her expedition's accomplishments as a context for their own observations, the story of her husband's death appears most often in other narratives; Mina Hubbard's expedition appears, if at all, as a postscript to Leonidas Hubbard's heroic tragedy.

The story of Leonidas Hubbard, Jr. haunts the Labrador landscape as Franklin haunts the Western Arctic, an absence signifying the romance, danger and adventure of the terrain travelled by subsequent travellers. Thus, in a 1910 article, A.P. Low, who had surveyed much of Labrador and on whose sketchy information about the interior Leonidas Hubbard had relied, reminded his readers that "[n]o reliance should be placed upon the killing of game during the summer months" (162); Low invokes Hubbard's death as a warning and cites the expeditions of Mina Hubbard and Dillon Wallace as examples of successful expeditions (162-63). In 1912, William Cabot, who had encountered the first Hubbard expedition on the ship en route to Labrador in 1903, wrote that both he and Hubbard had been inspired by the far hills to travel through the Labrador wilderness (29); passing references to Leonidas Hubbard in Cabot's accounts of his 1903 and 1904 travels in Labrador invoke a slight thrill of danger (128, 168). H. Hesketh Prichard also alluded to Hubbard's death to signify the inhospitable landscape he described in *Through Trackless Labrador* (1911) (11-12, 120-21), and Armenius Young, a Methodist missionary in Labrador, recorded Leonidas Hubbard's death (75) and Wallace's laborious winter journey out of Labrador in 1903 in the context of his own dangerous winter travels (95-99). J.M. Scott, in *The Land that God Gave Cain* (1933), mentions the expedition that ended in Leonidas Hubbard's death when Scott's own exploration party begins to travel up the Nascaupi River (116). His narrative describes the valley of the Nascaupi as "Bert

Blake's hunting-ground" (118), and his party briefly meets Gilbert Blake and his son (218-19), but describes Blake only as one of the trappers who brought out Hubbard's body.[35] Elliott Merrick, in his 1933 account of residence and travel on Grand River in Labrador, also describes an encounter with Gilbert Blake, who encourages him in his plan to winter in the bush and prove himself, far from the decadence and frenzy of New England urban life (9-11). Although Blake plays no further part in Merrick's narrative, he is thus invoked as a famous figure of the Labrador wilderness, to lend authenticity to Merrick's own project.[36]

In most of these narratives, Mina Hubbard appears only fleetingly. Cabot describes the pathos of Mina Hubbard's final parting with her husband (24), and alludes to her when describing his 1905 parting with the Naskapi, who were then en route back to Indian House Lake from the HBC post at Davis Inlet (179); these were the same people to whom Mina Hubbard gave her surplus supplies, when she met them a few days later after their arrival home (206-07). Prichard is the only writer to refer to Mina Hubbard's observations of the caribou migration (Prichard 206, 209-10, 215-16) and the flies (78), as well as to the observations recorded by other travellers, in order to place his own work in the context of existing information. His narrative thus acknowledges her as one of many who have brought back information about Labrador. Mina Hubbard also surfaces briefly in the 'autobiography,' entitled *Land of the Good Shadows: The Life Story of Anauta, an Eskimo Woman* (1940), written by Heluiz Chandler Washburne and Anauta, who in 1905 was the half-Inuit wife of Will Ford, the factor's son at George River Post.[37] Hubbard's arrival at the post is described, but, again, more space is given to the tragic death of her husband than to her expedition, and there is no sense of Hubbard's interaction with the people at the post during her two months' stay.[38] The departure of Anauta's family on the same boat as Hubbard looms far larger in Anauta's narrative (178), and Hubbard may in fact only have appeared in the narrative at all at the prompting of Anauta's white collaborator.

Jean Graham's interest, in her 1908 review, in Mina Hubbard as a woman explorer and a representative of women's participation in the confrontation between British culture and the wilderness was thus not shared by subsequent readers. For many years, Mina Hubbard's story surfaced only briefly in other wilderness narratives, and thus had meaning, in the larger tradition of literature, only in relation to Labrador exploration. This is not surprising. Although Hubbard was born in Canada, by 1905 she had studied, worked, married and lived in the United States. After her journey, she remarried and lived the rest of her life in England. Her book was published in Canada, the United States and England. The ownership of Labrador itself was under dispute between Newfoundland and Quebec at the time of Hubbard's travels. Hubbard, her exploration, and her narrative had no definitive nationality.

However, in the years after the Second World War, interest in Mina Hubbard's story began to take a different shape. Berton's reproduction of Hubbard's story as a Canadian one in *Wild Frontiers* was the first to recast its emotional drama, from her relationship with her husband to her relationship with Elson. Drawing on Elson's account of the 1905 expedition in his own field notes, Berton notes the

growing friendship between Elson and Mina Hubbard. Another recent account is less specific in its nationalism, but also positions Mina Hubbard's story in a romantic paradigm: Davidson and Rugge's fictionalized reconstruction of the three expeditions is a well-documented tale that unites the two parts of the drama, the 1903 expedition and its 1905 sequels, in the common figure of George Elson, the *Great Heart* of their title.[39] The book draws on the techniques of fiction both to provide its characters with interest and motivation, and also to fill the gaps in those parts of the story which have not been documented in the extensive body of archival information consulted by the authors. Davidson and Rugge take up Berton's suggestion that Elson "became greatly attached" to Mina Hubbard (Berton, *Wild Frontier* 198) and "was more than a little in love with her" (204), and the pathos of his attraction to her and their parting become part of the story. Clayton Klein, in a fictional autobiography of George Elson, constructs Mina Hubbard as the aggressor in the relationship.[40]

Late twentieth-century feminism's interest in unconventional and adventurous women, however, has found another story in Mina Hubbard's expedition than the potential for romance. In 1982, a group of seven women from Wisconsin and Minnesota repeated Hubbard's journey down the George River from its headwaters to Ungava Bay. Their journey was described by Carol Iwata and Judith Niemi in an article in *Woodswomen News*, as well as in Judith Niemi and Barbara Wieser's collection, *Rivers Running Free: Stories of Adventurous Women* (1987) (see Ford, Niemi). In these narratives, feminism reworks the male homosocial context of wilderness adventure, as it has been identified by Alan Williams, in order to create women's survival narratives of feminist bonding—with each other and with the figure of Mina Hubbard[41] in her capacity as feminist precursor. By appropriating the older model of wilderness endurance and survival for women, these narratives tell a tale of feminist self-empowerment and transformation.

Mina Hubbard's 1905 expedition to Labrador has served her stated purpose of forever associating her husband's name with the region he wished to explore. As I have shown, however, her story has also served a variety of other purposes. The first reinscription of the journey in *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* reshaped the story to produce a feminized explorer-hero in the book. The mixed contemporary reception of *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* reveals that, even sixty years after Lady Eastlake drew a distinction between travellers who were "over delicate" and those who were "over adventurous" (101), writing a woman's explorations required a very careful negotiation of the discursive conflict between exploration and femininity. However, subsequent retellings of Hubbard's story have shaped it to serve nationalism and feminism. It has been recast as biography and as 'real' adventure. There is even an American-made feature film planned, based on Davidson and Rugge's version of the story in *Great Heart* (Davidson to LaFramboise). Despite travel literature's generic status as a narrative of 'truth,' the figure of Mina Hubbard, woman explorer, continues to circulate in multiple versions, articulated by a variety of discourses. Later twentieth-century inscriptions of the woman traveller in the wilderness, in the retellings of Mina Hubbard's story and in

Lady Vyvyan's publication of *Arctic Adventure* (1961), suggest that, after the Second World War, it became easier to write women into an idea of northern heroism and adventure. These later narratives not only signal the investment of late-twentieth-century feminism and post-Confederation nationalism in recuperating earlier mythic figures; they also attest to the lingering fascination, in late-twentieth-century English-speaking cultures, with the challenge of a wilderness frontier.

Notes

1. Leonidas Hubbard, Jr. documented these experiences in articles for *Outing Magazine*: see "Off Days on Superior's North Shore" and "The Children of the Bush."

2. On 27 June 1905, the second Hubbard Expedition, led by Mina Hubbard, left Northwest River Post. The expedition proceeded by way of Northwest River into Grand Lake, then entered the Nascaupi River at the north end of Grand Lake. They travelled up the Nascaupi River, paddling where they could, and tracking and poling the canoes through or portaging around the long stretches of rough water where they could not paddle. On 17 July, they reached Seal Lake, paddled nineteen miles across the lake and into the Nascaupi River where it enters the north side of Seal Lake, and continued up the river, paddling, tracking and poling, or portaging, until, on 2 August, they reached Lake Michikamau (presently the Smallwood Reservoir). They then paddled to the northern end of Michikamau and poled up a short stretch of rapids into Lake Michikamats. They were windbound on Michikamats for three days, before following the flow of water upriver from the north end of Michikamats, in search of the height of land. On 10 August, they finally reached northward flowing water and the head of the George River. They were able to paddle north down the George River all the way to Ungava Bay, which they reached on 27 August, only two months after leaving Northwest River post.

3. The features of Labrador have changed since 1905, particularly since the building of the Churchill Dam. Grand River is now known as the Churchill River, and a much larger Lake Michikamau appears on maps as the Smallwood Reservoir. Places lying within the Province of Quebec now have French names: Indian House Lake is Lac de la Hutte Sauvage and George River is now Rivière George. The town at Ungava Bay, Kangiqsualujjuak, is a few miles from the site of the George River Post.

4. Davidson and Rugge describe the newspaper coverage of the two expeditions in detail. When the story of the rivalry did appear on 11 June, it was covered in all the major New York newspapers, as well as in the pages of *Outing*, which had agreed to sponsor Wallace's second expedition after the commercial success of *Lure of the Labrador Wild*. For days in mid-June, and periodically over the rest of the summer and fall, articles in the *Halifax Herald*, the *New York Tribune*, the *Sun*, the *Evening Journal*, and the *North Adams Transcript* repeated the details of the rivalry with interviews of Wallace's editor, his sister Annie, Leonidas Hubbard's executors, and Mina Hubbard's pastor James Sawyer. With the success of *Lure of the Labrador Wild*, Dillon Wallace's devotion to his friend was well known, and Leonidas Hubbard's diary, published in *Outing* ("Leonidas") had confirmed much of the details, so

sympathy was inevitably with Wallace (185-93, 375-79). However, the publicity of the scandal no doubt fueled the subsequent interest in both Wallace's and Mina Hubbard's narratives. Although neither mentions the existence of the other expedition, Mina Hubbard's book was certainly read by reviewers (and, one presumes, by many readers) in terms of the rivalry and the previous publication of Wallace's narratives; more than one American reviewer took her to task for her "depreciation" of Wallace's efforts (Havens 289, *A.L.A. Booklist* 290, "A Woman Explorer" 473).

5. A detailed comparison of the two expedition narratives lies beyond the cope of this chapter; Davidson and Rugge have offered pertinent insights in the notes to *Great Heart: The History of a Labrador Adventure* (1988) (274-85).

6. Status as 'explorer' also involves being recognized as such, as the ongoing struggle of women for membership in the RGS demonstrates. Not only was Mina Hubbard's text reviewed in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* of New York (1909) (Wallace's *Long Labrador Trail* received no mention, although his earlier narrative of the First [1903] Hubbard expedition had been positively reviewed), but in 1906 the *Bulletin* also published her article about her Labrador expedition. The London edition of *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* was published by John Murray, a house which had a long history of publishing the official exploration narratives of British Admiralty expeditions during the nineteenth century, as well as the books of the famous traveller Isabella Bird. Further, Hubbard gave lectures in England, the United States and Canada (Morgan 1912, 374) including lectures before the Royal Geographical Society on 6 January 1908 ("Lady"), before the British Association on 6 August 1907 ("Geography" 425).

7. In regards to Vyvyan's article, "The Rat River," which appeared in the *Geographical Journal*, I.S. MacLaren has noted the writer's use of near-gender-neutral language. Readers who are not given the author's name, he found, tend to believe the writer is male, although it is difficult to determine whether that is a conclusion based upon the assumption of a male norm or upon the assumption that northern travel is a male activity ("Land Beyond Words" 9).

8. As MacLaren has observed, the vast majority of visitors to the Canadian north and west in the early period travelled in the name of institutions or businesses ("Commentary" 275); few women had access to this kind of institutional support, in terms of either immediate funding of the expedition or training and experience. As I have indicated in earlier chapters, by the time that the women who wrote travel literature arrived in a region, they had usually been preceded by male travellers for several years, if not decades.

9. Hearne, working for the Hudson's Bay Company, made three attempts to reach the Coppermine River from Prince of Wales's Fort between 1769 and 1772; on his third attempt, travelling only with native companions, he succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Coppermine. His narrative, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay, to the Northern Ocean*, was not published until 1795, and is at least in part a defense of his geographical observations against the scepticism of theoretical geographers in England, such as Dalrymple. Hearne's reception by later explorers, including the Royal Navy's Sir John Richardson and Sir George Back, can be found in Richard Glover's Introduction to his edition of Hearne's narrative, and in *Arctic Artist*, the Houston/MacLaren edition of Back's journals. Although, as Lawrence has pointed out, rejection/correction of earlier travellers' findings is a common rhetorical tactic of travel writing's need to "make it new" (24), Richardson and Back also represent the Royal Navy's 'objective' scepticism about the 'interested' travels of a mere merchant.

10. For the purposes of this chapter, I will be referring to Mina Hubbard's daily record of the 1905 journey as "field notes." In the National Archives of Canada, this document appears in "The Hubbard Family Diaries" (MG30 B30) along with Elson's 1905 field notes and Leonidas Hubbard Jr.'s diary of the 1903 expedition during which he died. The originals are held by the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University. In her 1906 article for the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, "Labrador, from Lake Melville to Ungava Bay," Mina Hubbard distinguishes between her husband's diary, which was returned to her, and "Mr. Hubbard's note-book, containing his maps and other records, [which] I have not had access to" (531). Davidson and Rugge state that Dillon Wallace, Leonidas Hubbard's partner, refused to relinquish Hubbard's "field book or photographs" to his widow (*Great Heart* 183).

11. Hubbard's diary records giving "my first public address to the Ministers Club" on 18 December 1905 and lecturing at her local church on 20 December. Although no information about her subsequent lecture tour in North America has yet come to light (she did apparently speak in Canada and the United States ["Ellis, Mrs." 373]), British publications record at least two talks in England. On 6 August 1907 she spoke before the British Association; her lecture was "illustrated by lantern-slides" and entitled "Traverse of Two Unexplored Rivers of Labrador" ("Geography" 425). On 7 January 1908, the London *Times* reported that "Mrs. Leonidas Hubbard, a Canadian lady, delivered a lecture entitled "Journeys through Lonely Labrador" before the Royal Geographical Society at the Theatre, Barlington House, yesterday afternoon" (10f); this lecture is also listed in the "Meetings of the Geographical Society, Session 1907-1908" announcement of the *Geographical Journal* (228). On 27 February 1908 she was a guest of the New Vagabond

Club ("Mrs. Leonidas Hubbard" 10d). These latter lectures were part of her 1908 book tour, during the course of which she met her second husband, British M.P. Harold Ellis.

12. All references to *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* will be made to the John Murray (London) edition, unless otherwise indicated in the text.

13. I have left for another occasion a discussion of whether Hubbard or her editor is responsible for the changes made; this will have to await the discovery of a draft manuscript and correspondence between Hubbard and her editor. I am content to attribute the changes taking place in Hubbard's story, between field notes and published book, to the process of publication, with the understanding that that includes both the influence of the publishing industry and the writer's advisors, as well as the woman traveller's own decisions about self-representation, and feedback from lectures and interim publications. I do not wish to situate the field notes as a version of events which is more 'true' to the real woman's writing; rather, I wish to situate the changes in Hubbard's story as a result of the act of return from the wilderness to the metropolitan centre, and the reproduction of the text there.

14. Except for Job Chapies, who was Cree, all of Hubbard's crew were of mixed European and Native descent: Elson was Scots-Cree, Joseph Iserhoff was Russian and Cree, and Gilbert Blake was of Inuit and European descent. In Mina Hubbard's narratives, their indigenous identity is emphasized, and Job Chapies, in particular, appears as a type of the 'noble savage.' The similarities between Hubbard's delighted admiration of Chapies's wilderness skills and Lady Vyvyan's descriptions of Lazarus Sittichinli in *Arctic Adventure* foreground the fact that, whatever their basis in fact, these depictions belong to a long-established tradition of European representation of 'the indigene.'

15. See "Exploring Inner Labrador" 555, "Labrador, From Lake Melville to Ungava Bay" 530, "My Explorations in Unknown Labrador" 813-14, and "Through Lonely Labrador" 82.

16. Leonidas Hubbard's frequent appearance in the field notes of an expedition meant to vindicate him is not surprising. Mina Hubbard had, since her husband's death, written letters to him as a strategy for coping with her grief; for instance, her field note entry at George River Post on 18 October 1905, the anniversary of Leonidas Hubbard's death, begins, "Dea— Was just going to write Dearest Laddie." Lisa Dempsey reads the expedition and its writing as a working-through of that grief, and states that in this way Hubbard reinscribes exploration from an imperialist practice into a highly personal one (22-24). While the text certainly inscribes the fulfilment and closure of Mina Hubbard's relationship with her husband, it would be wrong to assume that

this distances it from the imperialist connotations of the act of exploration. Sara Mills asserts that "[o]ne of the major problems in the analysis of women's travel writing is that of assuming that the texts are autobiographical" (36), and I have noted, in my analysis of Anna Jameson's work in Chapter One, the persistence of the biographical reading of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*. As my analysis of the reception of Hubbard's travels will reveal, most reviewers also chose to read her expedition's significance primarily in terms of that personal and emotional framework, and only secondarily in terms of its scientific achievements.

17. Reviews cited in this dissertation will appear alphabetically in the Works Cited under the name of the reviewer, or, if no author is given, under the title of the review. Untitled, anonymous reviews are listed in the Works Cited alphabetically by the title of the book being reviewed.

18. These references occur on significant anniversaries of events in the first expedition, at geographical locations that Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., reached or intended to reach, when parallel events occur (for instance, the death of a child, whom Mina Hubbard met on her first trip to Labrador, brings her husband's death to mind [21 June]), or whenever she is suffering extremes of emotion, whether positive or negative. They are more frequent in the early period of the trip, when Mina Hubbard's expedition is still travelling up the Nascaupi River (looking, as her husband had been, for Lake Michikamau).

19. One reviewer commented approvingly, "no morbid wailing creeps into the narrative" (Graham 470).

20. In this context, it is interesting to note that the only publication in which Hubbard actually does represent herself grieving to the point of helplessness and self-hatred is in the article "Through Lonely Labrador," which was published in the *Englishwoman's Review*:

> I was sitting at my writing-table that day, feeling very, very helpless and sad. I suppose no one will ever quite know with what a sickening sense of limitation I longed to be a man, so that I might go away and do the work to which my husband had given his life, and which his death left unfinished. But I was a woman, and it did not occur to me that I could do anything till that January day, when, as I sat looking out of the window, aching with a sense of my own littleness and impotence, suddenly something thrilled through my whole being. (82)

With that, she decides to go to Labrador. It may be that, in a publication whose audience was primarily women, the foregrounding of her own emotional pain seemed more appropriate than in the book. Hubbard's overt acknowledgement, in this article addressed to a female audience, that she is taking on a conventionally masculine role does not appear in any of her other articles, and in her book such desires appear only as an impossibility, as when

she wishes she were a man so she could climb a tree to photograph a fish eagle (osprey) nest (87).

21. A review, in the *Literary Digest*, of *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* made this connection explicit (673).

22. Eric Norman has written a teaching manual for use with *Lure of the Labrador Wild*.

23. The most articulate criticism of Leonidas Hubbard's failure to prepare properly for the journey he undertook came from *Forest and Stream* (Morris 270; "'Unexplored' Labrador" 1), the rival to *Outing Magazine*; however, according to Davidson and Rugge, Mina Hubbard also read hints of her husband's culpability in Wallace's narrative, *Lure of the Labrador Wild*, and Wallace's letter, written from Labrador in the winter of 1903-04 to Caspar Whitney, publisher of *Outing*, blames the expedition's failure on a lack of appropriate equipment (Davidson and Rugge, *Great Heart* 375-76).

24. When she gave up her planned Peace River camping trip in favour of a journey to Peel's River Post by HBC steamer, Elizabeth Taylor wrote to Helen Carver: "it is quite simple—I shall be in good hands, a ward of the Company. There will be no danger, & no responsibility." To Frances Burr, she wrote. "There will be less risk, & no responsibility on this trip." The responsibility for her own route, outfit and safety was, in her writings, not an invigorating challenge to be met, but a burden which she relinquished gladly.

25. Evidence that some members of the expedition (Davidson and Rugge suggest that it was Hubbard herself) were concerned about the possible imputation of immoral behaviour among the group can be found in the field notes kept by Elson and Mina Hubbard. At the end of Elson's field notes, Mina Hubbard has written:

> I, Mina B. Hubbard, do hereby declare and solemnly avow that during the trip across Labrador, leaving Northwest River Post June 27th 1905, reaching George River Post August 27th 1905, on which George Elson accompanied me, he at all times treated me with respect and as an honorable Christian man. I also record my promise that I will never by word or look or sign lead any human being to believe that he ever otherwise treated me and that if I should ever in any way intimate that he otherwise treated me I hereby declare it to be a lie.
>
> [signed] Mina B. Hubbard.

A similar document, signed by all members of the crew, appears at the end of Mina Hubbard's field notes. Both documents are dated 16 September 1905.

26. Although Hubbard was not passed from bishop to trader as Elizabeth Taylor was, there was some institutional pressure on her men to look after her. Her field notes record that, on the outbound voyage to Labrador, the captain "gave George some good advice and [was] trying to scare the other men a little as to what may happen if they do not bring me safely back" (17 June). This episode does not appear in the published narrative, although Elson's exaggerated care for her and his anger and fear when she heads off alone are reported by Hubbard, along with his demand, "'How could any of us go back without you?'" (131). Elson and Chapies would later be hired through the HBC to guide Stephen and Florence Tasker, who canoed from Missanabie to Moose Factory on the Missinaibi River, travelled by the HBC boat *Inenew* to Great Whale River, and canoed up the coast of Hudson Bay to the Clearwater River, ascended the Clearwater, canoed through Clearwater and Seal lakes, across the height of land and down the Larch and Koksoak rivers to Fort Chimo (Hodgins and Hoyle 217-18); employment for Elson and Chapies depended on maintaining a reputation as reliable guides. Certainly, having already lost one Hubbard in the Labrador wilderness, it would have done Elson no good to lose another.

27. See "Through Lonely Labrador" (84-5), "My Explorations in Unknown Labrador" (815), and "Exploring Inner Labrador" (556); the London *Times* account of her talk before the RGS also mentions the hot-water bottle with amusement, although the paper asserts that male explorers used them more than female ones ("Lady's Travels" 10f). The fact that the description of Hubbard's campbed, including the hot-water bottle, is not mentioned in the article published in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, but does appear in considerable detail in the article published in *The Englishwoman's Review*, suggests that while comfort is extraneous to the discourse of exploration, it is essential to the discourse of femininity.

28. Due to the field notes' limited availability at the present time, and the nature of the close textual reading I am giving these passages, I am quoting at length.

29. Elson's field notes for the day read:

> Nice beautiful day. Portage to two small lakes then in to big lakes runs N.west. Then again after noon 2 small portages. Found the winter run the other side to North. Lots of deer all around. Camped along a little stream. Swampy, an old stage just or near our camp. Rice pudding for supper as we had said some time ago we would have when we get to the Head waters of the George R. Lakes run North west. When we seen this little stream wondring how it run. North or south. Job went to see he came to the canoes and said George's river as George's river boys. All glad to know the water runs north. Nice moon light. Wind south & country full of lakes, wooded and flat except a high barren from the Head of Michakmats N east side run. (10 Aug.)

The men had been calling the George River "George's River" for some time at this point (it is, after all, his second attempt to reach it), so it is particularly interesting that Mina Hubbard should transcribe Chapies' identification of the river as "Ha ha Jordan seepee." The river's significance is relocated, from its importance to the men of the crew (who will now be paddling downstream with a tail wind) in the context of George Elson's life, the journey and their work, to its importance in a Christian framework. The latter is not irrelevant to the men's own lives and culture, but, given the hagiographic tone of the narrative's treatment of Leonidas Hubbard, Mina Hubbard's version of Job Chapies' cry relocates the importance of the journey to the context of Leonidas Hubbard's life.

30. According to Adrian Tanner, the groups designated Montagnais and Naskapi by European accounts belong to the same culture; they call themselves Innu. "Montagnais" is of French origin; the origin of "Naskapi" is uncertain, but both date back to seventeenth-century missionary sources. Tanner notes that, by the late nineteenth century, "Naskapi" had acquired the sense of a northern, unchristianized people, while "Montagnais" was used to refer to groups living in the forested area nearer to the St. Lawrence. This is how Mina Hubbard uses the terms, and I have chosen to preserve her division, in order to distinguish between the two communities she visits.

31. Hubbard herself recognized her limited qualifications for the work she had set out for herself. On 25 July she writes, "So often wish I were a botanist" and her field notes often record her struggles to take accurate observations of the party's position (30 June; 1, 5 July). Her opportunities for ethnographic observation were also brief, as the party never stayed for any length of time in the indigenous communities they encountered. Further, it is the purpose of reviews to position texts for the reading audience. However, as I have noted, both the RGS and the AGS made use of Hubbard's material and time, whatever they may have thought of her book. In 1928, years after the RGS began admitting women as members, Hubbard was accepted as a Fellow (A. Hart to LaFramboise).

32. Hubbard also serves as an example (albeit a negative one) of women's wilderness abilities in an *Outing* article encouraging male sportsmen to share their wilderness enthusiasms with their female relatives: "It isn't necessary to draft her for a trip to Labrador, such as Mrs. Hubbard made, or to lead her into the perilous fastnesses of the far North as though she were a Mrs. Tasker. There are few women who could stand that. But there is plenty of quail country near home where the going is easy, even for a woman" (Cushing 289).

33. Wallace and Clifford Easton, the one member of his party who travelled the full length of the journey to George River Post with him, capsized their canoe in the George River; their camera, barometer, and binoculars were damaged, and they lost much camera film (*Long Labrador Trail* 142-48). Accordingly, Wallace was unable to bring back the documentation so important to exploration.

34. Wallace hired a ghost writer, Frank Barkham Copley, to help write *The Lure of the Labrador Wild*. *The Long Labrador Trail*, his own account of his 1905 expedition, follows a similar style of high drama and thrilling adventure, although in this narrative no one dies. Wallace's subsequent novels were to exploit the genre of wilderness survival and repeat the theme of male subjectivity constructed and affirmed in confrontation with the Labrador wilderness. The contrast between the styles of Mina Hubbard and Dillon Wallace has been noted by Judith Niemi (222), who cites the contrast between his description of his party's initial departure, "eager to plunge into the unknown and solve the mystery of what lay beyond the horizon" (*Long Labrador Trail* 21), and Mina Hubbard's sensation of "unspeakable relief in thus slipping away into the wilderness" (*WW* 55).

35. Scott makes no reference to Mina Hubbard's successful expedition. However, his encounter with Blake in the valley of the Nascaupi does confirm that Blake, who, in *A Woman's Way*, is recorded as hoping that he would find new trapping grounds up the Nascaupi (121), did indeed continue to trap up that river. The Hubbard expeditions thus had significance beyond the acquisition of information for geographical societies and the validation of Leonidas Hubbard's ambitions. Blake scouted new trapping territory for himself and his brother. Elson and Job Chapies subsequently guided the Taskers on their expedition across northern Labrador from Hudson Bay to Chimo. Elson also met M. Duclos, who kept the Northwest River post for the French fur-trading company Reveillon Frères, on his two trips to Northwest River with the Hubbards; after he gave up guiding, he accepted a post with the company at Moose Factory (Davidson and Rugge, "George" 83).

36. Merrick later returned to New York and became a writer. Among his publications is "The Long Crossing," a combined account of the two Hubbard expeditions and that by Dillon Wallace; this short story was republished in *The Long Crossing and Other Labrador Stories* (1992) (93-136).

37. I am grateful to Dale Blake for bringing this narrative to my attention.

38. Washburne and Anauta state that Leonidas Hubbard's expedition had failed because "[t]he Indian guide who accompanied them had told the men to follow a certain small river. Mistrusting his judgment, they had taken a large river instead" (177). Since, in 1903, Elson knew no more about the geography of

Grand Lake than Hubbard or Wallace, it is difficult to credit this version of events. Certainly there is no record of Elson claiming that Hubbard and Wallace had ignored his advice. Elson spent the winter of 1903-04 at Northwest River post and was apparently well-liked; this may have inflected local accounts of the Hubbard story, which doubtless went through many permutations as it made its way up the coast to the Ungava settlements. Washburne and Anauta also report that Anauta learned through her husband's conversations with Mina Hubbard's guides that she held a "memorial service . . . for her husband, when they found the place where he had died, alone in the wilderness" (178). This is patently impossible, as the second Hubbard expedition did not travel anywhere near the site of Leonidas Hubbard's death. However, when the expedition arrived at Michikamau, Mina Hubbard did record their names and the date on a flat stone which they left at their first camp on the lake (143); doubtless the ceremony included some remembrance of her husband, as Michikamau was the site he had been trying to reach when his expedition turned back. The third-hand account of this that Anauta remembered thirty-five years later indicates how the events of the Hubbard expeditions could be transformed in gossip and memory.

39. The name was given to Elson by Mina Hubbard, who, during her stay at George River Post, had read *Pilgrim's Progress* while writing her first post-expedition account of the journey. Her field notes relate how, in the style of *Pilgrim's Progress*, that first draft gave the names "Great Heart" to Elson and "Eagle" to Job (7 October).

40. Klein's text is prefaced by a fictional disclaimer, and at points where Mina Hubbard's field notes and book disagree his narrative follows the book. Although his text provides an extensive history of Elson, the lack of a textual apparatus, combined with the fictional disclaimer and apparent limits of Klein's research, make it frustratingly impossible to rely on Klein's information.

41. Iwata and Niemi note that members of the expedition took turns wearing a "Mina outfit" of clothes similar to those Hubbard would worn (6), and Ford describes taking turns riding in the middle of the canoe, as Hubbard would have done, and the efforts necessary to avoid hypothermia in that position in poor weather (15).

CONCLUSION

The discourse of gender positioned nineteenth-century women in terms of domestic femininity; the same discourse positioned men as mobile public agents. The woman traveller was thus located in a contradictory discursive space. In the Canadian context, the highly institutionalized conditions of travel both enabled and structured women's travels and what women were able to do and see. Yet women were writing in a tradition dominated by accounts of masculine adventure. Women travel writers thus had to negotiate a complex narrative identity: the discourse of colonial travel and adventure demanded fearless and intrepid action, while the discourse of femininity demanded passive, modest, domestic virtue. Because, as Sara Mills has recognized, the production of women's travel writing is contingent on a variety of factors including gender, class, race, textual conventions, and a variety of personal circumstances (21), the texts which describe women's travels make use of a wide variety of strategies for articulating a specifically female authority within the discourse of travel.

The texts I have chosen to discuss in this dissertation are all inflected by gender, although they are in many ways very different texts. Anna Jameson, for example, recasts the elements of earlier adventure narratives, such as Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures in Canada*, within a version of Romanticism which aestheticizes and feminizes the wilderness landscape, its inhabitants, and the woman travel writer's audience; Agnes Deans Cameron and Miriam Green Ellis, in their writing about the Western Arctic, can be said to mobilize a similar strategy of recasting male precedents, when they describe northern women's activities and their own travels alongside the explorations and commercial success of men in the North. Mary Agnes FitzGibbon and Ellen Elizabeth Spragge describe travels in a wilderness which has become, for them, a region of recreational travel rather than life-threatening adventure; hardship and deprivation are experienced by other men and women, but not by the lady traveller. For FitzGibbon and Spragge, wilderness travel becomes play rather than travail; for Lady Macdonald, it becomes both. The women who travelled on steamers in the Western Arctic, like those who travelled on the CPR, described travel under institutional care and surveillance; between 1892 and 1926, northern expansion, national progress, and first-wave feminism combined to offer these women a context in which to articulate a space for women's participation. Cameron's 1908 narrative of northern travel displays less anxiety to distance the woman traveller from the 'wilderness' of the journey than, for example, FitzGibbon's book or Elizabeth Taylor's articles do. However, even after the turn of the century, women's travel writing continued to employ textual strategies to contain the gendered transgression implicit in the act of travel; Mina Hubbard, for instance, articulates her exploration through the discourse of widowhood, and is thus able to suppress the sexual connotations of wandering beyond the bounds of 'civilization'; writing some thirty-five years later, Lady Vyvyan is more willing to claim that she and Dorrien Smith "were lords of the world, were conquerors, we were unconquerable" as she describes the day of their arrival at the height of land (*Arctic Adventure* 123).

My dissertation has focussed primarily on gender as a key discourse in the production of these texts and in their reception. However, gender does not function independently, but rather is articulated at a series of intersections with other discursive structures. As my analysis of these texts has shown, women travel writers constructed their authority as a specific kind of woman: middle- or upper-class, white, and usually British or Anglo-North-American. They constructed that identity in relation to the landscapes they travelled, the people they met and described, and the activities in which they participated. In this conclusion, I would like to bring together some of the elements in the texts I have described above, highlighting the common ways in which female authority is articulated in terms of class and race.

On 20 August 1905, Mina Hubbard's field notes record reaching Indian House Lake, and, in her words, meeting "the Nascaupee Indians[—]the real ones that dress in skins." The excited tone of the day's entry results not only from achieving yet another of her husband's goals, but also because she learns from the Naskapi that her party is only five days' travel from Ungava Bay. The passage relating their arrival at the Naskapi encampment dramatizes the initial uncertainty of the encounter, as both sides establish friendly relations, and then describes a series of exchanges between the two groups: George Elson asks for information about the route, while Hubbard takes photographs; Hubbard gives the Naskapi her surplus supplies, as they have been unable to purchase staples at the Davis Inlet HBC post because the supply ship did not arrive before they had to leave the coast. Here, as in all women's travel writing, the representation of indigenous peoples—whether in ethnographic group portraits, or in individual relationships with the travel narrator—resonates at a complex intersection of the discourses of gender, race, class and colonialism through which women travel writers articulate their cultural authority.

In Hubbard's published narrative, the hour-long visit is expanded to fill a chapter, reproducing in detail the ethnographic descriptions of manners, clothes, hair, and housing that dominate the field notes, and dramatizing Hubbard's attempts to obtain from the Naskapi "something which I might carry away with me as a souvenir of the visit" (213). Ethnographic collection becomes, in Hubbard's version, an attempt to fix the experience of the journey in a material object; the caribou skin she obtains, in the end, ceases to be material from which clothing or housing can be made, and becomes instead a reified icon which represents the visit to the Naskapi, "the real [Indians] that dress in skins" (20 Aug.). In Hubbard's book, the account of the visit is expanded to describe in detail several individuals, including the chief, a mother and newborn child, one of the young men, and the chief's daughter. Some of these individuals also appear in the field notes. The chief's daughter, who proudly refuses to give Hubbard her beaded hair band, does not appear in the field notes. Neither does the young man who catches Hubbard's eye in the published account:

> Even in barren Labrador are to be found little touches that go to prove human nature the same the world over. One of the young men, handsomer than the others, and conscious of the fact, had been watching me throughout with evident interest. He was not only handsomer than the others, but his leggings were redder. As we

> walked up towards the camp he went a little ahead and to one side, managing to watch for the impression he evidently expected to make. A little distance from where we landed was a row of bark canoes turned upside down. As we passed them he turned and, to make sure that those red leggings should not fail of their mission, he put his foot up on one of the canoes pretending, as I passed, to tie his moccasin, the while watching for the effect. (208-09)

As I have shown in my earlier analysis of the alterations made to Hubbard's narrative between the field notes and the published book, the tendency throughout *A Woman's Way through Unknown Labrador* has been to distance Hubbard from her guides and to suppress the slightest implication of sexuality in her narrative persona. Mills suggests that this is a common strategy for women travel writers, for whom the public mention of sexual matters was highly improper (22). And yet here, at the moment when the journey's triumph becomes nearly certain, Hubbard's book deliberately raises the idea of the woman explorer as both an object and an agent of desire, in an interracial context.

This momentary eruption of the possibility of interracial desire serves a complex narrative purpose. As one of the individual character vignettes Hubbard uses to describe the Naskapi, the passage reduces the young man to a 'type' of universal human nature—the flirtatious young man of fashion aware of his own attraction. In the tradition of indigenous representation, the young man is, of course, "handsomer" than the others: the object of the gaze is pleasing, and is thus worthy of the traveller's gaze. The tone of Hubbard's description is amused and condescending. She retreats to the distanced perspective of the asexual widow, amused by the posturing of youth; the racial and cultural distance between them is exaggerated by the implied age difference and by the narrative tone of amused condescension. At the same time, however, the possibility of sexual attraction—implicit in the fact that the young man *is* "handsomer"—has been raised. For Hubbard does notice the handsome young man, his posturing, his red leggings. She notices that he has noticed her. The passage—written long after Hubbard's encounter with the Naskapi, and lacking any equivalent in the field notes—thus serves as a displacement of the attraction that Berton (204) and Davidson and Rugge (349-53) speculate was developing between Hubbard and her chief guide. In the contained context of a brief paragraph, the spectre of forbidden sexual attraction to the racial 'other' is raised and disposed of: Hubbard is surrounded by her guides; the visit is only an hour long; the narrative moves in the next paragraph to a description of the view from the Naskapi camp. Nothing actually happens. Whether there actually was a young man in red leggings who sought Hubbard's attention will never be known. However, his appearance in the narrative that she wrote some two years after the journey was completed suggests that, however carefully Hubbard may have censored herself when she was actually in the wilderness, in memory the act of travel in the wilderness did have erotic connotations.

The passage describing the "handsomer" young man in "redder" leggings (208) is cited in full by a review in the *Dial*, which assures its readers that "[t]he

Indians were hospitable, but no gallantries were attempted except a very diplomatic and indirect effort on the part of one young brave to make an impression on the fair visitor" (Havens 288). The passage is more amusing than threatening, in this reviewer's reading, and, in fact, the effort made by the "young brave" to gain Hubbard's attention becomes a validation of the superiority of white womanhood, which, presumably through Hubbard's innate ladylike femininity, provokes both desire and the restraint of that desire in a "very diplomatic and indirect" expression. The nineteenth-century discourse of femininity assumed that a woman who really *was* a lady would be treated like one; as Lilias Campbell Davidson, in *Hints for Lady Travellers at Home and Abroad* (1889), wrote: "I am quite sure that no man, however audacious, will, at all events if he be sober, venture to treat with undue familiarity or rudeness a woman, however young, who distinctly shows him by her dignity of manner and conduct that any such liberty will be an insult" (63). As Alison Blunt has recognized, this attitude placed responsibility for danger on the woman traveller rather than on potential attackers (69); the woman who truly behaved like a lady would never be in danger. In Hubbard's case, then, the existence of attraction and of its restraint is evidence that she remains, despite her unconventional activity, a lady. Paradoxically, by raising the spectre of forbidden sexuality, the passage attests to Hubbard's innately ladylike qualities and assures the reader that Hubbard's middle-class femininity remains uncompromised by her wilderness experience. She has not become coarsened, weathered, or ugly during the travail and strain of the journey, but remains attractive, a "fair visitor" in Havens' review. Given the connection between standards of appearance and standards of morality which is made explicit in FitzGibbon's description of her party's return to Winnipeg, it is essential that, fifty-four days into the wilderness, Hubbard remain the delicate, refined, distant lady who graces the book's frontispiece.

The young man in red leggings occupies only one paragraph in a chapter full of ethnographic description of the Naskapi community. This material in Hubbard's book was particularly praised by reviewers. Millais, for example, is far less interested in the tale of Hubbard's experience than in the information her narrative provides: "what we want to know of Labrador is . . . first-hand observations of its botany, mineralogy, zoology, and ways of the wild races" (402). Knowledge, as I have suggested, is what the explorer brings back. According to Mary Louise Pratt, the ethnographic portrait is a "standard apparatus" of travel writing which "produce[s] non-European subjects for the domestic audience of imperialism" (63). Typically, Pratt suggests, the ethnographic gesture homogenizes the people described into "a collective *they*, which distils down even further into an iconic *he*" (64). This produces the subject of ethnography in a timeless present tense, in which particular encounters are represented as examples of an existing, pregiven custom or trait (64); for instance, when Hubbard describes her crew's wilderness skills as those of the "Children of the Bush" (*WW* 141), she does so within the rhetorical strategies characteristic of ethnography.

Ethnography relies on close observation of human dress, domestic life, customs, morals and feelings, and thus is particularly suited to those talents and

interests considered feminine in the nineteenth century. It also offers women travellers a framework within which to represent indigenous peoples from an objective and objectifying distance. Ethnographic portraits serve a variety of textual purposes in women's travel writing. Millais' approval of Hubbard's ethnographic material reveals that this production of knowledge added to the cultural authority of women's travel writing; a similar note of approval is evident in the report, by the *Edmonton Bulletin*, of Emma Shaw Colcleugh's ethnographic collection ("Mrs. Emma Shaw Colcleugh" 1). In specific instances, ethnographic style is used as a totalizing rhetorical technique that authorizes the conclusions these writers draw about indigenous people as a group, as in Jameson's description of "the woman among these Indians" as "a dependent drudge" (3: 300-05). Ultimately, Jameson's description of Ojibwa women's position in their society serves as the basis of a critique of her own society, which is characterized by class divisions and hypocrisy (3: 305-12). Cameron's narrative similarly uses ethnographic detail in the service of a southern and eastern political agenda. In her prolonged descriptions of "the Mackenzie River Eskimo" (212-36, 241-75), Cameron marshalls knowledge from every conceivable source, including missionaries, arctic travel narratives, whalers, fur traders and mounted police, as well as from her personal encounters with Inuit. *The New North* offers a lengthy portrait that caters to turn-of-the-century Euro-North American curiosity about the Inuit; in the age of polar exploration, southern cultures were interested in a people who thrived in a climate which was so harsh and deadly to explorers. This portrait also contributes to a construction of Canadian nationalism that mobilizes representations of the Inuit as a superior northern people who prove the discourse of northern superiority in the context of Canadian expansion. Both Jameson and Cameron make use of ethnographic material about indigenous peoples as an opportunity to discuss the position of women in European and Euro-North American societies. However, although the portrait drawn by the ethnographer is a positive one—and both Jameson and Cameron situate their discussions of indigenous peoples as correctives of earlier, negative representations—the knowledge represented in the text ultimately has significance for a change in Canadian or British society, just as the woman travel writer's authority does. The text's meaning is produced for its readership, and not for those whom it represents.

Pratt further notes the complementary relationship between the "ethnographic portrait" and landscape narration, which together produce territory in terms of bodies and landscapes which give up knowledge to the European traveller (64). In the case of wilderness writing, the representation of indigenous peoples serves to authenticate the landscape. Thus Jameson, after outlining the difficulties of the journey she proposes to make, adds, "but shall I leave this fine country without seeing anything of its great characteristic features?—and, above all, of its aboriginal inhabitants?" (2: 8). FitzGibbon uses the figures of indigenous people to inhabit the picturesque sunset views she describes while in Winnipeg (59-60). Spragge situates her "first experience of the reality of Western life" in the picturesque sight of an Indian encampment near Calgary (46). On her first morning at Mackinac, Jameson wanders along the shore, "watching the operations of the Indian families. It were endless to tell you each

individual group or picture as successively presented before me" (3: 28). In these depictions, the ideal North American 'landscape,' seemingly staged for the woman traveller, contains indigenous figures. Lengthy descriptions of the Inuit at Fort McPherson serve a similar purpose in Taylor's northern narratives. For instance, although "Up the Mackenzie River to the Polar Sea" describes travel with both mixed-blood voyageurs and with "our Indians" (561), the only photographs of indigenous people in the article are of Inuit (563-64).

In these texts, the narrative stance of ethnography is visual: it produces a portrait, a landscape. Thus Hubbard, describing her short visit with the Naskapi, notes with regret that she "[w]ould have liked much to stay for a time and *see* the feast" ("Diary" 20 August; my italics). Jameson (3: 144-49, 292-94), Taylor (233-43) and Vyvyan (60-61) each describe watching hunting or war dances which are performed for them, while Macdonald watches the conference at Gleichen and a mock-battle (227-31) and Jameson witnesses a treaty payment ceremony and grand council (3: 268-86). In many of these narratives, indigeneity is a performance. Often, as with Jameson and Macdonald, that performance is actually a performance of the colonial machinery, and is structured on class relations which position the woman traveller with other white authority figures whether the women are related to such figures (as Jameson, Taylor, and Macdonald were) or not.

For example, Jameson's authority to discuss interrelations between indigenous societies and the European colonizers, and to compare the two societies, is structured in her book as a complex mobilization of 'truth' rooted in personal experience and the cultured sensibilities of a feminized Romantic subject. That authority is supported because she also makes personal contact with local informants. However, the personal, feminine friendships that Jameson establishes with the women of the Johnston-Schoolcraft-McMurray family, who are her local informants, are predicated upon the women's reproduction of European femininity. Jameson's friends, Mrs. Schoolcraft and Mrs. McMurray, are characterized by their ladylike attributes and their descent from Irish landowners on one side and from "a race celebrated in these regions as warriors and chiefs from generation to generation" on the other (3: 183). Their marriages, to an American government official and a minster, respectively, further situate them as both Jameson's social equals and also as reliable local informants. Other indigenous women, in Jameson's social analysis, are drudges; they are not sources of information, but rather are subject to observation. Jameson's descriptions of Ojibwa women's domestic labour, like Hubbard's emphasis on the poverty and dirt of the Montagnais encampment she visits and FitzGibbon's description of the Mohawk servant Carrière, situate indigenous people as 'other' not only in terms of race, but in terms of class as well. The fact that the employees who do the work of transporting the women are most often indigenous (from Jameson's canoemen, to the crew who paddle FitzGibbon and her companions on the journey out from the contract, to the guides hired by Hubbard and Vyvyan) also serves to align racial divisions with class and gender in these narratives, thus reproducing in the women travellers' narratives the hierarchies Brown and Van Kirk describe as typical of fur-trade society. Despite the liberating connotations of travel, then, the woman

travel writer never really steps outside the hierarchies which structure meaning and human relationships in European cultures. This is perhaps inevitable, given the way women travellers' experiences and access to knowledge are structured by the institutions which enable their travel on various northern and western frontiers.

In the case of women travellers, these hierarchies are complicated by women's lack of wilderness skills. Unease characterizes Hubbard's field note entries when she disagrees with George Elson about the route, or when she is worried about how hard the men are working; that unease is also voiced openly by Lady Vyvyan fifty-six years later, when she notes that, on their canoe trip over the Rat, Porcupine, Bell and Yukon rivers, she and Dorrien Smith are completely "at the mercy" (89, 113) of their guides. However, the textual reproduction of these moments of unease has meaning, not only in the women's experience of travel in Canada, but also within the travel narrative, where unease signals novelty, danger, drama and isolation. The depiction of the frontier, in many of these texts, depends generically upon the reproduction of an oppositional relationship between the white woman traveller and a racialized indigenous 'other.'

I have attempted, in this analysis, to focus on the way women's authority, as it is negotiated in their travel narratives, positions representations of indigenous peoples for the purposes of the text, rather than in the interests of transparently 'truthful' representation. The extent to which ethnography as a discourse that produces knowledge is invested in political hierarchies has been analyzed by Pratt and Mills, among others. Julia Emberley cautions, however, that postcolonial deconstructions of ethnographic material are equally implicated in political relations. Emberley makes the connection in an analysis of Van Kirk's study, noting that "[t]he material administered and exchanged in the process of subjecting Native people to colonial historicization no longer exists in the form of supplies of European commodities. In postcolonial discourse, it is their symbolic value as textual commodities that is being exchanged" (109). Emberley's concern is to recognize the extent to which postcolonial discourse, by perpetuating stereotypical images of indigenous peoples in its analysis of those images, still fails to widen the field of study beyond the colonial scene, and in fact repeats the economic exploitation of indigenous peoples in the service of producing knowledge—now postcolonial rather than ethnographic. I have attempted, in some of my readings, to signal the alternative meanings that the journeys described in women's travel literature had in the lives of other people: in Jane Schoolcraft's letter to her husband, in the lives of George Elson and Gilbert Blake, in the autobiography of Anauta. However, for the material and ideological reasons I have discussed in this dissertation, the only speaking voices in women's travel narratives are those of middle-class white women.

I have chosen in this dissertation to examine a group of narratives which describe travel on the margins of settlement and beyond. The travellers who wrote these texts were women who endured physical discomfort and hardship for the excitement of visiting frontiers and testing themselves in the act of travel; they often overcame considerable social and personal obstacles in order to do so. They often

were, or thought they were, the "first" white women to reach their destinations, and many of them were eager to contribute to their society's acquisition of knowledge about the world.

In the texts which describe their travels, however, the narration of a woman's journey requires the negotiation of contradictory discourses in order to maintain both the generic appeal of frontier travel and adventure and also a narrative authority which is invested in ideas of femininity and refinement. Women's travel narratives often foreground both the traveller's strategies for coping with wilderness conditions and also the extent to which the woman traveller is cared for and relies on institutional infrastructures. The woman traveller travels to a frontier, but in her text she often shields herself from both the landscape and the people for whom that landscape is home. These texts make use of a variety of strategies in order to represent woman travellers as both travel adventurers and also as ladies. In some texts, the narrator is distanced from the wilderness effects of the landscape and the travel. In others, patterns of adventure are revised to accommodate the attributes of femininity. Only rarely, and only in the years after the First World War, is the idea of wilderness struggle and adversity reproduced wholesale by women travellers. Ultimately, then, what it means to be a "traveller in skirts" lies not in the individual daring of exceptional women but in the continuing production and reception of published representations in literary texts.

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Abbreviations of institutions:

MHS	Minnesota Historical Society
NAC	National Archives of Canada
HBCA, PAM	Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba
CNS	Centre for Newfoundland Studies

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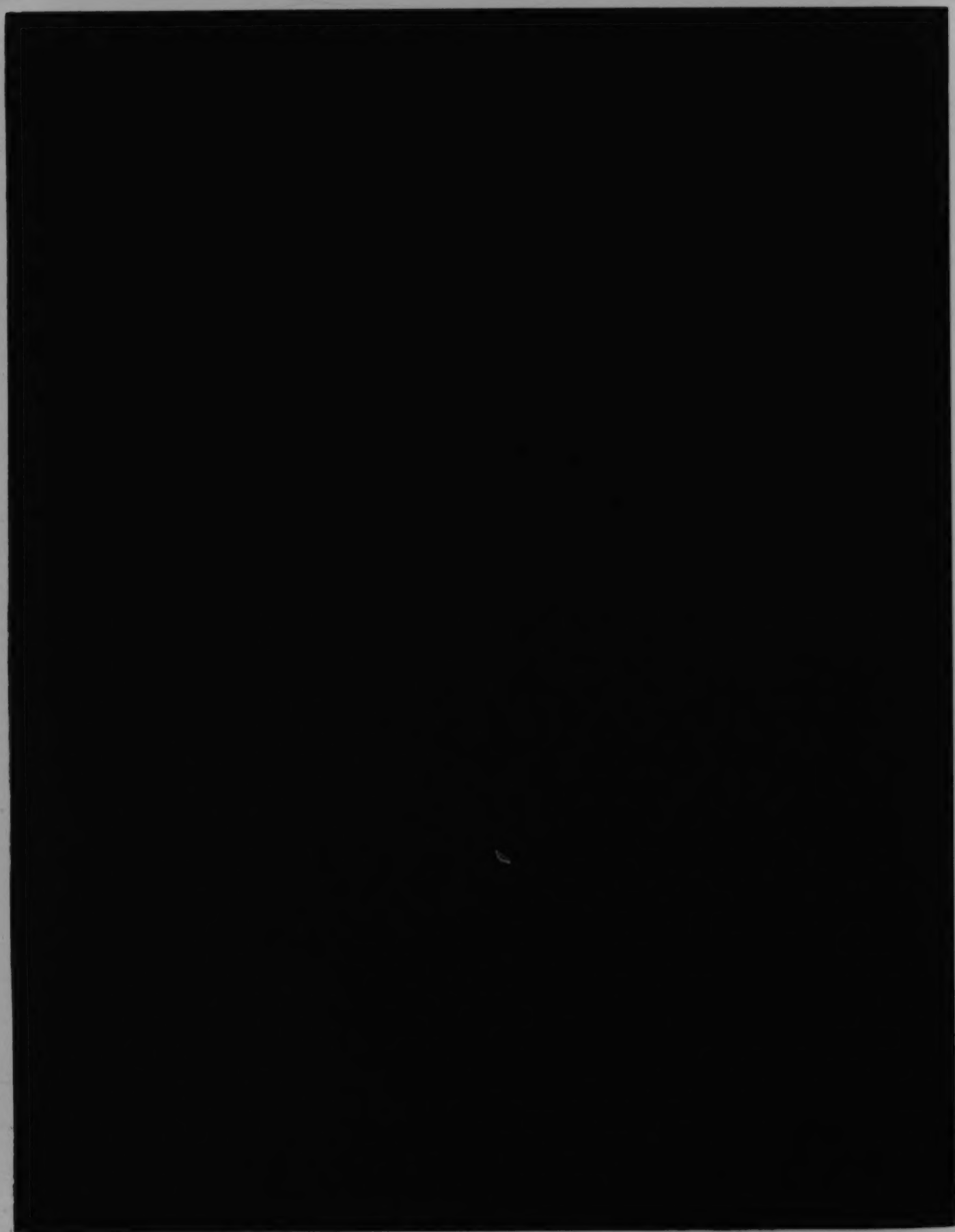
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